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THE STORY OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

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THE UNKNOWN BIBLE

A SYLLABUS OF THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

WHAT IS PROTESTANTISM?

THEOS SOTER AS TITLE AND NAME OF JESUS

THE STORY OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

A Study of the Hebrew Decalogue in its Ancient and Modern Application

By

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN, PH.D.

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New York

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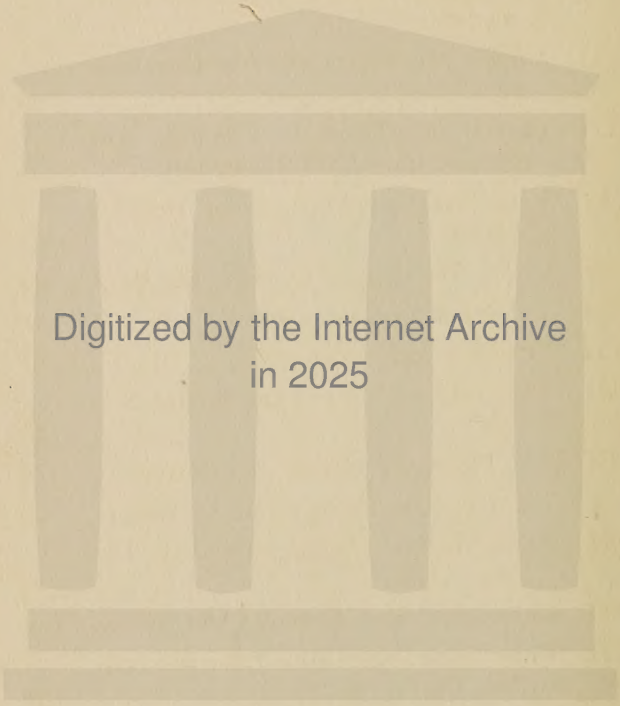

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Contents

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	Abraham Cohen Prepares for Confirmation	3
II	Patrick Murphy Studies the Catechism of Christian Doctrine	18
III	Calvin MacPherson Commits the Shorter Catechism to Memory	28
IV	Four East Side Young Men Attend a Movie	38
V	Calvin MacPherson Consults His Bible	48
VI	Yahweh as National God	60
VII	"Our Father"	68
VIII	The Golden Calf and the Bronze Serpent	77
IX	The Hebrew Conquest of Idolatry	89
X	The Christian Compromise on Images	99
XI	From Misuse to Suppression of the Divine Name	113
XII	Christianity and Solemn Affirmations	122
XIII	From Feast Day to Blue Laws and Sabbath Joy	130
XIV	From Lord's Day to Christian and Jewish Sabbath	141
XV	From the Power of the Ancient Father to the Rights of the Modern Child	160

CHAPTER		PAGE
XVI	From Ancient Solidarity to Justice	178
XVII	From the Rise of the Individual to the Sacredness of Personality and Society	188
XVIII	Her Master	202
XIX	Her Masters	210
XX	Equals	221
XXI	The Bible on Property	232
XXII	Pre-Protestant Christian Views of Property	241
XXIII	The Puritan Approval of Wealth	251
XXIV	From Bearing False Witness to Genuineness	264
XXV	From Evil Deed and Desire to the Defense of the *Status Quo*	275
XXVI	The Findings	286

THE STORY OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

CHAPTER I

Abraham Cohen Prepares for Confirmation

> We accept the faith of Israel as did our fathers at Mount Sinai. We pray that it may never depart from us and we will strive so to live as to be worthy to become "a kingdom of priests and a holy people."
>
> —Declaration of Confirmants.

Abraham Cohen belonged to that branch of Judaism called "Reformed." In preparation for confirmation he was reading the tragic story of his people. He learned a number of things. The father of the Hebrew race, whose name he bore, had lived some 4,000 years ago. More than a millennium before the birth of Romulus and Remus, Isaac and Jacob had wandered through Palestine. For hundreds of years the Hebrews were enslaved in Egypt. Moses finally delivered them from that house of bondage and at Mount Sinai gave them the "Ten Words." Joshua led Israel across Jordan. The conquest of Canaan followed. It was a long, disheartening, disintegrating process. The kingdom began under Saul. David conquered Jerusalem, which became the Holy City, first of Israel, later of Christianity. Solomon, who built the temple, was such an extravagant king that the ten northern tribes rebelled against his weak son and successor, Rehoboam. Thenceforward,

there were two kingdoms in tiny Palestine, namely, Israel in the north and Judah in the south. Samaria, capital of Israel, was captured by the Assyrians in 722 "B.C.E."—the manual's abbreviation for the period before Christ. The Hebrews of the northern kingdom, deported to Assyria, vanished. One hundred and thirty-six years thereafter, the kingdom of Judah was overthrown by the Babylonians and many of its inhabitants were carried away to Babylonia. But this company of exiled Hebrews refused to forget Jerusalem.

> By the streams of Babylon, there we sat
> and wept at the thought of Sion!
> There on the poplars we hung up our harps
> when our tyrants asked for a song;
> But how can we sing the Eternal's songs,
> here, in a foreign land?
> Jerusalem, if ever I forget thee,
> withered be this my hand!
> May my tongue cleave to my mouth,
> if ever I think not of thee,
> if ever I prize not Jerusalem above all joys! [1]

When Persia conquered Babylonia, some of these Hebrews returned to Palestine and rebuilt their ruined capital, temple, and towns. During their exile they had become interested in preserving and completing their annals and the oracles of their prophets. In this way a

[1] As a rule Moffatt's translation of the Bible is quoted, with permission of the owner of the copyright, George H. Doran Company.

holy literature came into existence. The collection of Hebrew sacred writings was not completed until the second century of the "Common Era"—thus his manual referred to the Christian Era. In its final form it consisted of three parts. The first division of the Hebrew Bible was called the Torah, or Law, and contained the five books of Moses. The second division was called the Nebiim, or Prophets, and contained Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets. The third division was called the Kethubim, or the Writings, and contained Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles. This Bible of Judaism was to become the Old Testament of Christianity.

The Hebrew people next came under the sovereignty of Alexander the Great and then of Syria and of Egypt. When Antiochus Epiphanes, who ruled from 175 to 164 "B.C.E.," sought to destroy the Jewish religion, the Maccabees summoned the faithful to rebellion, defeated the Syrian hosts, and reconsecrated the defiled temple. To this day Judaism annually commemorates this victory in a festival called "Hanukka." In the course of the Maccabean revolution the Jews also won political independence but lost it eighty years later when a Roman general, Pompey, appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. The Roman overlordship lasted from 63 "B.C.E." to 135 "A.C.E." During a portion of this

period Judea was under Roman procurators. One of the procurators was Pontius Pilate. At this point the manual Abraham was reading furnished him some very pertinent information. He read and reread it until he could almost recite it from memory. "The most notorious, though not the worst, of these procurators was Pontius Pilate, in whose reign appeared Jesus (Joshua) of Nazareth. Many hailed him as the Messiah, a Hebrew word meaning 'anointed'—king. For the oppressed Jews were ever looking for a deliverer to restore the royal House of David. This was regarded by Rome as treason, and Jesus was put to death by the regular Roman method of execution—crucifixion. He was not the only one with that exalted claim or who met that tragic fate; but he was the most famous. He had many followers; these were first a Jewish sect but later formed a separate religion. The Greek of Messiah is *christos*. So, believing that Jesus was the Messiah, his followers were called Christians."

At length he read on. Twice in the course of sixty-six years the Jews arose in rebellion against mighty Rome. All the suffering and bloodshed were in vain. The heavy hand of Rome was felt in the great decrease of Jewish population, the confiscation of Jewish territory, the transfer of the Jerusalem temple tax to Jupiter Capitolinus, the razing of Jerusalem and the temple, and the extinction of the Jewish nation. Until 1917, or for nearly eighteen centuries, Judaism had no

homeland. Dispersed throughout the world, the Jewish people turned from sacrifices in the temple to prayer in the synagogue and emphasis upon the Law.

The lot of Judaism was very wretched. Restrictions were universally in force against them. Persecution came in waves. Sad to relate, the Crescent was more favorable to Judaism than the Cross. Abraham Cohen was especially instructed regarding the fanaticism that accompanied the Christian efforts to wrest the holy sepulcher from the Turks, regarding the false charges against the Jews of slaying Christians to obtain blood for the Passover bread, regarding the resolution of the Christian council which condemned Jews to wear a yellow badge that they might be scorned the more, regarding the herding and driving of Jews to the chant of "Hep," "Hep," "Hep"—*Hierosolyma est perdita,* Jerusalem has been lost—regarding the accusation of having poisoned wells during the plague in 1349 and the subsequent massacre of Jews, regarding their banishment from Spain in the very year when Columbus first sailed West to reach the East, regarding the isolation of the Jews in the Ghetto, their growing distrust of Christians, and development of a peculiar language, partly Hebrew, partly German, the famous "Yuedisch Deutsch," regarding the decision of the Russian Government to compel the Jews to live within the "Pale of Settlement," and regarding its secret encouragement of the terrible pogroms always

signifying not only spoliation but massacre. It was a somber tale.

Naturally, the brighter chapters in the story of Judaism were not overlooked. The golden era in Spain under the Moors with its Gabirol, Halevi, and Maimonides was beautifully summarized. Another period of glory for Judaism arrived in the eighteenth century when Moses Mendelssohn came to Berlin, winning a reputation as a mathematician and a philosopher, writing in defense of Judaism, translating the Bible into German, enlarging the horizon of his own people, and entering into an intimate friendship with Lessing. What Abraham Cohen could never forget was the quiet declaration of his manual that Lessing had immortalized Mendelssohn in his "Nathan the Wise." That charming study of religious toleration, in the course of which Lessing fought against class prejudices and uncovered the agreements underlying Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, contains the story of the three rings. Nathan, that is, Mendelssohn, tells it to the liberal Sultan Saladin to explain why he is neither Mohammedan nor Christian.

> In days of yore, there dwelt in eastern lands
> A man, who from a valued hand received
> A ring of priceless worth. An opal stone
> Shot from within an ever-changing hue,
> And held its virtue in its form concealed,
> To render him of God and man beloved,

Who wore it in this fixed unchanging faith.
No wonder that its eastern owner ne'er
Withdrew it from his finger, and resolved
That to his house the ring should be secured.
Therefore he thus bequeathed it: first to him
Who was the most beloved of his sons,
Ordaining then that he should leave the ring
To the most dear among his children; then
That without heeding birth, the fav'rite son,
In virtue of the ring alone, should still
Be lord of all the house. From son to son,
The ring at length descended to a sire
Who had three sons, alike obedient to him,
Whom he loved with just and equal love.
The first, the second, and the third, in turn,
According as they each apart received
The overflowings of his heart, appeared
Most worthy as his heir, to take the ring.
Which, with good-natured weakness, he in turn
Had promised privately to each; and thus
Things lasted for a while. But death approached;
The father, now embarrassed, could not bear
To disappoint two sons who trusted him.
What's to be done? In secret he commands
The jeweler to come, that from the form
Of the true ring, he may bespeak two more.
Nor cost, nor pains are to be spared, to make
The rings alike—quite like the true one. This
The artist managed. When the rings were brought
The father's eye could not distinguish which
Had been the model. Overjoyed, he calls
His sons, takes leave of each apart—bestows
His blessing and his ring on each—and dies.

Scarce is the father dead,
When with his ring, each separate son appears,
And claims to be the lord of all the house.
Question arises, tumult and debate—
But all, in vain—the true ring could no more
Be then distinguished than the true faith now. . . .
Each to the judge
Swore from his father's hand immediately
To have received the ring. . . .
The judge said: "If the father is not brought
Before my seat, I cannot judge the case.
Am I to judge enigmas? Do you think
That the true ring will here unseal his lips?
But, hold! You tell me that the real ring
Enjoys the secret power to make the man
Who wears it, both by God and man, beloved.
Let that decide. Who of the three is loved
Best by his brethren? Is there no reply? . . .
Does each one love himself alone? You're all
Deceived deceivers. All your rings are false.
The real ring, perchance, has disappeared;
And so your father, to supply the loss,
Has caused three rings to fill the place of one.
If you insist on judgment, and refuse
My counsel, be it so. I recommend
That you consider how the matter stands.
Each from his father has received a ring:
Let each then think the real ring his own.
Your father, possibly, desired to free
His power from one ring's tyrannous control.
He loved you all with an impartial love,
And equally, and had no inward wish
To prove the measure of his love for one

By pressing heavily upon the rest.
Therefore, let each one imitate this love;
So, free from prejudice, let each one aim
To emulate his brethren in the strife
To prove the virtues of his several rings,
By offices of kindness and of love,
And trust in God. And if, in years to come,
The virtues of the ring shall reappear
Amongst your children's children, then, once more
Come to this judgment seat. A greater far
Than I shall sit upon it, and decide!"
So spoke the modest judge.[2]

Reading further, Abraham Cohen observed that the French Revolution, with its shibboleths of liberty, equality, fraternity, initiated the emancipation of Judaism, for the armies of Napoleon spread these ideas over Europe. Once more revolution came to the aid of Judaism when the uprisings of 1848 promoted the principles of democracy.

Naturally the plan of modern Jews to colonize Palestine was mentioned. But Abraham noticed that as late as 1885 the platform of Reformed Judaism, adopted in Pittsburgh, included the plank that "no return to Palestine is expected, nor the reinstitution there of a Jewish state, nor of a worship conducted by the descendants of Aaron." The dispersion among the nations was regarded as a "means of fulfilling the mission of Israel." But the momentous Declaration of the

[2] Translation of R. Dillon Boylan.

British Government in 1917 in favor of the establishment in Palestine of "a national home for the Jewish people" had altered all this. He wondered how profoundly Zionism would modify the ideas of Israel.

The story of his people was introductory to solid work upon the "Confirmation Manual." The confirmant studied the Jewish calendar, making himself familiar with the names of the Hebrew months and the sacred days of Judaism. The Pesach, or Passover, commemorates the deliverance from Egypt and also the barley harvest, the book said. Shabuoth, or Pentecost, commemorates the delivery of the decalogue at Mount Sinai and also the wheat harvest. Succoth, or Tabernacles, commemorates both dwelling in the wilderness and also the ingathering of the harvest.

Judaism celebrates two days of solemnity, the Rosh Hashana, or New Year's Day, in Autumn, on the first of Tishri, and the Yom Kippur, or Day of Atonement, ten days later. The latter day is the culmination of the period of penitence commencing on New Year's Day. It is a day of fasting, confession of sins, prayer for forgiveness, and consecration.

The two "minor" feasts of Judaism are Purim, or Feast of Lots, and Hanukka, or Dedication. The former commemorates Esther's rescue of the Jews of Persia from the massacre planned by Haman, the Persian prime minister and enemy of the Jews. The

latter commemorates the Maccabean rededication of the temple after its defilement by Antiochus Epiphanes.

The doctrines of the Jewish faith to which Abraham Cohen next gave attention were concerned with God, man, the mission of Israel, and the messianic era. God, he was taught, is one, not three. Monotheism, not tritheism, is Israel's doctrine of God. God is "perfect, spiritual, and eternal, the omnipotent Creator of all that is; the omniscient Ruler of the Universe; the wise and loving Father of Mankind." Man was described as rational, moral, free, and immortal. Through reason, man acquires a knowledge of the world and its laws. Through conscience, man discriminates between right and wrong. Because he has a free will, man may choose between good and evil and therefore is accountable to God. The mission of Israel is to tell all men about the Eternal and his law. During the glorious messianic era humanity will at last become one loving family opposed to war, friendly, united, and peaceful.

A couple of pages in the confirmation manual were devoted to the ten commandments. His rabbi added numerous interesting comments upon them, pointing out that the ten commandments were found in two places in the Scriptures, in Exodus 20 and in Deuteronomy 5. Abraham learned them according to Deuteronomy 5 and in the following order, enumeration, and text.

I

I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

II

Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, even any manner of likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down unto them, nor serve them. For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generations of them that hate Me, and showing mercy unto the thousandth generation of them that love Me and keep My commandments.

III

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless who taketh His name in vain.

IV

Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any manner of work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-

servant, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt and the Lord thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand, and by an outstretched arm; therefore, the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day.

V

Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long, and that it may go well with thee, upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

VI

Thou shalt not commit murder.

VII

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

VIII

Thou shalt not steal.

IX

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

X

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, neither shalt thou desire thy neighbor's house, his field, or his

man-servant, or his maid-servant, his ox, or his ass, or anything that is thy neighbor's.

The first commandment, he was told, is the preface to the other nine. It indicates who the Law-Giver is, what he has done for his people, and therefore what right he has to impose laws upon Israel. "Lord" translates the incommunicable name by which Israel's God revealed himself to Moses. He is a personal God, entering into a covenant with Israel, and expecting it to keep his commandments.

The second commandment is in two parts. It proclaims the unity and personality of God and his incorporeality as well.

The third commandment warns Israel not to profane the Name.

The fourth commandment is to be interpreted not only of the sabbath but of festivals and cruelty to animals and slavery.

The fifth commandment has to do with all family relations.

The sixth commandment is concerned with the rights and duties of life.

The seventh commandment applies to marriage and chastity.

The eighth commandment involves all rights and duties of property. It is even applicable to such matters as interest and usury and begging.

The ninth commandment is exceedingly inclusive. It denotes not merely perjury but good citizenship.

The tenth commandment refers to the various personal virtues and vices as well as covetousness.

Abraham Cohen had completed his preparation for confirmation. He had recited the declaration of confirmants and accepted the faith of Israel. The ten commandments he occasionally repeated in order not to forget them. Whenever he considered them, he wondered how such simple statements could mean so many different things. Each century had read existing customs into these brief, vague moral maxims of a primitive age. Was it quite fair to the Decalogue to make its interpretation so elastic? Or did God, like the priestess of Apollo at Delphi, speak indefinitely in order that each age might use the ten commandments as points of departure in the formulation of its ethical ideals? He was puzzled. Well, at any rate, the ten commandments were Israel's notable contribution to the moral progress of humanity. That fact, at least, was established.

CHAPTER II

Patrick Murphy Studies the Catechism of Christian Doctrine

Semper, ubique, idem!

PATRICK MURPHY was turning the pages of his catechism. He observed that it had been "published by ecclesiastical authority." It contained two Latin expressions, "*imprimatur*" and "*nihil obstat*," which, he was given to understand, guaranteed its contents. Indeed, the third plenary council of Baltimore had ordered its diligent compilation. Several archbishops and the censor of books had approved it. This was an *authoritative* manual. It represented the teaching of the Catholic Church.

He was not left in doubt concerning the significance of that Church. Among the statements he committed to memory were these: "We shall know the things which we are to believe from the Catholic Church, through which God speaks to us; we shall find the chief truths which the Church teaches in the Apostles' Creed; the means instituted by our Lord to enable men at all times to share in the fruits of His Redemption are the Church and the Sacraments; the Church

is the congregation of all those who profess the faith of Christ, partake of the same Sacraments, and are governed by their lawful pastors under one visible Head; Jesus Christ is the invisible Head of the Church; Our Holy Father, the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, is the Vicar of Christ on earth, and the visible Head of the Church; the Church has four marks by which it may be known: it is One; it is Holy; it is Catholic; it is Apostolic; these marks are found in the Holy Roman Catholic Church alone."

Moreover, the "Large Catechism" defined faith as "a divine virtue infused into our souls, by which we firmly believe as infallibly true, whatever God has revealed and His Church teaches."

From all this Patrick gathered that his Church desired to tell him what to believe, that it would always lead the way, and that he was to follow. Thus he would avoid adventure, risk, error, restlessness. In this way he would enjoy ease and comfort and always be certain and never be a dissenter or non-conformist. By submission to authority he could escape all creative thinking and never be compelled to reach his own conclusions. By obedience to the Church all the disintegration, anarchy, and ruins that result when one steps out alone could be kept away from his door. Here were contentment, happiness, the beaten path, the quiet water, serenity, the majority, the wisdom of the ages, tested experience, calm. Yonder were the straitened

way, soul torture, gnawing doubt, pain, terrible reality, the heroic few, reliance upon one's own experience, continuous self-examination, trouble. The majority has ever desired to follow, to be led. Patrick belonged to the majority.

Patrick was not only comfortable but also convinced. The largeness, the mystery, and the absolute certainty of his Church entirely satisfied him. He firmly believed that the supreme authority in religious matters was the divine, infallible witness of the Church. That Church both preceded and produced the Bible. The Bible was true because the Church said it was.

Hence, he was delighted with this course in the Faith, Means of Grace, and the Commandments of God and of the Church. The earlier lessons gave him the necessary information concerning God. Next he learned about the fall of Adam and Eve and came upon that strange expression, "original sin," which men inherit from distant Adam, from which the "Blessed Virgin Mary was preserved free," and from which he had been cleansed in the sacrament of baptism. Whatever original sin might be, he was free from it. Actual sin, he noticed, is of two kinds, mortal and venial, or grievous and slight offenses against the Law of God. The seven capital sins were said to be pride, covetousness, lust, anger, gluttony, envy, and sloth. The significance of Christ was put in very simple terms. Christ was sent to redeem man. Christ was conceived and

made man on Annunciation day. He was born on Christmas day. He died on Good Friday, rose from the dead "glorious and immortal" on Easter Sunday, and ascended into heaven forty days later on Ascension day. A lesson on the Holy Ghost was followed by one on the effects of redemption. The seven sacraments were defined to be baptism, confirmation, the holy eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony. The sacraments are outward signs but *give* grace. Thus baptism cleanses from original sin. Confirmation bestows the Holy Ghost. Penance secures the forgiveness of sins committed after baptism. The Holy Eucharist "contains the body and blood, soul, and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ under the appearance of bread and wine," and the mass is "the same sacrifice as that of the cross." Extreme unction "gives health and strength to the soul, and sometimes to the body, when we are in danger of death from sickness." The sacrament of matrimony "unites a Christian man and woman in lawful marriage."

Patrick now approached the commandments. He was informed that there were ten commandments of God and also six chief commandments of the Church. The commandments were introduced with the declaration that "it is not enough to belong to the Church in order to be saved, but we must also keep the Commandments of God and of the Church."

The power of the Church to issue commandments

was demonstrated by an appeal to the New Testament. Christ said, "As the Father hath sent me, I also send you," and "Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth shall be bound also in heaven." The obligation to keep the commandments of the Church also rested upon the plain words of the Scriptures, "He that heareth you heareth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me. If he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican."

Six chief commandments of the Church were listed:

I

"To hear Mass on Sundays and holy days of obligation.

II

"To fast and abstain on the days appointed.

III

"To confess at least once a year.

IV

"To receive the Holy Eucharist during the Easter time.

V

"To contribute to the support of our pastors.

VI

"Not to marry persons who are not Catholics, or who are related to us within the third degree of kin-

dred, nor privately without witnesses, nor to solemnize marriage at forbidden times."

The ten commandments of God were declared to be:

I

I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not have strange Gods before Me.

II

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.

III

Remember thou keep holy the sabbath day.

IV

Honor thy father and thy mother.

V

Thou shalt not kill.

VI

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

VII

Thou shalt not steal.

VIII

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

IX

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife.

X

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods.

The first commandment, Patrick was told, requires the adoration of God and may be broken by false worship, by not seeking to discover, by refusing to believe, and by neglecting to profess the faith or through rashly expecting salvation or losing hope in God's mercy. On the other hand, the first commandment does not forbid the honoring of saints or to pray to them or to honor their relics. It "does forbid the making of images if they are made to be adored as gods." But images may be made to put Christians "in mind of Jesus Christ, His Blessed Mother, and the saints." While prayer to the crucifix is not allowed, prayer before the crucifix is proper.

The second commandment demands that Christians "speak with reverence of God and of the saints and of all holy things, and keep their lawful oaths and vows," forbidding "all false, rash, unjust, unnecessary oaths, blasphemy, cursing, and profane words."

The third commandment demands the worship of God on "Sundays and holy days of obligation by hearing mass, by prayer, and by other good works." It forbids "all unnecessary servile work and whatever else

may hinder the due observance of the Lord's Day."

The fourth commandment bids Christians "honor, love, and obey their parents in all that is not sin" and also their "bishops, pastors, magistrates, teachers, and other lawful superiors," forbidding "all disobedience, contempt, and stubbornness towards their parents or lawful superiors."

The fifth commandment commands Christians to "live in peace and union with their neighbor, to respect his rights, to seek his spiritual and bodily welfare, and to take proper care of their own life and health," forbidding "all willful murder, fighting, anger, hatred, revenge, and bad example." The Christian true to this commandment will also avoid cruelty to animals.

The sixth commandment bids Christians "to be pure in thought and modest in all their looks, words, and actions," forbidding "the reading of bad and immodest books and newspapers."

The seventh commandment bids Christians "give all men what belongs to them and to respect their property," forbidding "all unjust taking or keeping what belongs to another."

The eighth commandment bids Christians "keep themselves pure in thought and desire," forbidding "unchaste thoughts and desires."

The ninth and tenth commandments bid Christians "to be content with what they have, and to rejoice in

their neighbor's welfare," forbidding "all desires to take wrongfully what belongs to another."

Three of the ten commandments memorized by Patrick were written upon the first table and have to do with God, he was told; seven of these commandments were inscribed upon the second table and have to do with duties toward self and fellow man. The text of the ten commandments was taken from Deuteronomy 5.

Patrick observed that *whereas his Church had the power to interpret the commandments, the exposition was never completed without some reference to the Bible.* Among the Scripture passages quoted in the elucidation of the ten commandments were these: "The Lord thy God shalt thou adore, and Him only shalt thou serve; the Holy Scripture says that 'the prophet Jeremias, long after his death, prayeth much for the people and for all the holy city'; also that the 'four and twenty Ancients incessantly offer up the prayers of Saints at the throne of the Most High'; son, support the old age of thy father and grieve him not in his life; children, obey your *parents in the Lord,* for this is just; he that striketh his father or mother shall be put to death; he that curseth his father or his mother shall die the death; he that shall scandalize one of these little ones that believe in Me, it were better for him that a millstone should be hanged about his neck and that he should be drowned in the depth

of the sea; let no man overreach or circumvent his brother in business, because the Lord is the avenger of all these things; a lie is a foul blot in a man; if a serpent biteth in silence, he is nothing better that backbiteth secretly; hedge in thy ears with thorns, hear not a wicked tongue; a good name is better than riches."

Had you examined Patrick Murphy on the ten commandments, he would have returned proper, short, and stereotyped answers. Further questions would have revealed that his information was not comprehensive. But his general and particular ignorance of the true meaning of the ten commandments would not have been disturbing to him. Why should he worry about such things? Holy Church would tell him all he needed to know about the ten commandments. And he loved to sleep peacefully.

CHAPTER III

Calvin MacPherson Commits the Shorter Catechism to Memory

> Man's chief end is to glorify God, and enjoy him forever. . . .
>
> The Word of God, which is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, is the only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy him.
>
> —WESTMINSTER SHORTER CATECHISM.

CALVIN MACPHERSON had been attending Bible School and church for some years. His teacher and the minister had often said things that were quite beyond his comprehension. But in a general way he understood who was who and what was what. God had created the world in six days and had rested on the seventh day. The first man God made was Adam, and that was 5921 years ago. The first woman, Eve, God made a few minutes later. After many centuries had passed, God selected Abraham and through him Israel as his chosen people. Various members of the chosen race had, under "plenary inspiration"—he could not altogether fathom this—written the books of the Old Testament. Some four centuries before Christ, the Old Testament period ended. Four centuries of silence followed during which the Jews became blind to prophecy

and changed the law of God into legalism. When God, to give them one more opportunity, sent his son Jesus, the Jews rejected and crucified him. Hence God was finally compelled to cast them off. The Christians became the new people of God, continuing the truly spiritual and ethical elements in the Old Testament. God transferred to them the promises originally given to Israel. Judaism never did understand that those prophecies referred to Jesus. In this manner the Hebrew patriarchs in spite of their polygamy and ethical irregularities were transformed into spiritual ancestors of the Christians.

Moreover, in the course of the centuries the Christian church had grown corrupt. But in the sixteenth century, the true church separated from the worldly church. Calvin was absolutely convinced that he belonged to the true church of God. Yet not even all the members of his church had been foreordained unto salvation. His mother and father had been. His sisters and brothers had been. And, of course, he had been. Otherwise the doctrine of election would not have been very satisfactory.

Calvin had reached the age when adolescents take the prescribed course in the Westminster Shorter Catechism. As he counted the 107 questions and answers about faith in God and duty toward God, his courage almost failed him. As he worked on and on, he began to list for further investigation such puzzling

propositions as these: "These three are one God, the same in substance; he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass; the covenant being made with Adam, not only for himself but for his posterity, all mankind descending from him by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him, in his first transgression; the fall brought mankind into an estate of sin and misery; the sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell consists in the guilt of Adam's first sin, the want of original righteousness, and the corruption of his whole nature, which is commonly called original sin; God, having out of his mere good pleasure, from all eternity, elected some to everlasting life; *the souls of believers are, at their death, made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory; and their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves till the resurrection;* no mere man, since the fall, is able, in this life, perfectly to keep the commandments of God; every sin deserveth God's wrath and curse, both in this life and that which is to come."

For the present, Calvin peremptorily dismissed the numerous questions confronting him on finishing any page of the catechism. These answers were derived from the Bible. The Bible was the inspired word of God and contained the only revelation of God. The authority of the Bible did not depend upon the testimony of any man or church but "wholly upon God, the author thereof."

When Calvin reached Question 39, he concluded

that the catechism was becoming more practical and less theological. He looked ahead and was elated to find forty-three questions and answers on the moral law, or ten commandments, revealed by God to man, for his obedience. The ten commandments Calvin MacPherson memorized were taken from Exodus and were numbered and read as follows:

God spoke all these words, saying, I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

I

Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

II

Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me: and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments.

III

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

IV

Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested on the seventh; wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it.

V

Honor thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

VI

Thou shalt not kill.

VII

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

VIII

Thou shalt not steal.

IX

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

x

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's.

The brief comment accompanying each commandment in the form of question and answer, Calvin had also to master.

The first commandment he understood to be an affirmation of the unity of God and condemnation of polytheism and atheism and idolatry. But the idolatry of the first commandment signifies the worship of images of alien gods.

In the second commandment, so he was informed, idolatry is again condemned but here means employing images in the worship of Jehovah. The second commandment emphasizes the "invisibility and spirituality of God" and forbids images and sacred pictures.

The third commandment forbids all profane, dishonoring, irreverent, ordinary, abusive use of God's "names, titles, attributes, ordinances, Word, and works."

"The fourth commandment requireth the keeping holy to God such set times as he hath appointed in his word; expressly one whole day in seven, to be a holy sabbath unto the Lord.

"From the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, God hath appointed the seventh day of the week to be the weekly sabbath; and the first day of the week, ever since, to continue to the end of the world, which is the 'Christian Sabbath.'

"The fourth commandment forbiddeth the omission or careless performance of the duties required, and the profaning the day by idleness, or doing that which is in itself sinful, or by unnecessary thoughts, words, or works about our worldly employments and recreations.

"The reasons annexed to the fourth commandment are, God's allowing us six days of the week for our own employments, his challenging a special propriety in the seventh, his own example, and his blessing the sabbath day."

The fifth commandment covers all reciprocal honors and duties between superiors, inferiors, and equals, as well as obedience to parents.

The sixth commandment forbids willful murder, dueling, manslaughter, and suicide, but allows self-defense, capital punishment, and war, the primer explained. "War indeed is one of the sorest ills from which men suffer, and there are many kinds of war —all wars of ambition, oppression, revenge, and injustice are entirely inconsistent with the law of Christ. But neither the Bible nor reason declares war to be in all possible circumstances unjustifiable. Neither the Old

Testament nor the New stamps the profession of the soldier as one that cannot righteously be held; and if the right of self-defense belongs to the individual, the same right must belong to the nation."

The seventh commandment was interpreted as covering not merely the sanctity of marriage but gluttony, drunkenness, and "all overindulgence of appetite" whether in deed or in thought.

When the catechism reached the eighth or property commandment, it entered upon an eloquent defense of industry, thrift, diligence in calling, wealth lawfully obtained and devoted to the greater glory of God. Had Calvin been the son of a millionaire, he would have felt rewarded for all his hard study of the catechism.

"The eighth commandment requireth the lawful procuring and furthering the wealth and outward estate of ourselves and others.

"The eighth commandment forbiddeth whatsoever doth, or may, unjustly hinder our own or our neighbor's wealth or outward estate."

Here was a summons to take the trail to greater riches, "to work for God to become rich." One might as well desire to be sick as to choose to live in poverty. "Sell all thou hast" must not be taken literally. "A false balance is an abomination unto the Lord; but a just weight is his delight." "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark, which they of old time have

set in thine inheritance." Observe the rules of the game, but do business for God, your neighbor, and yourself.

The ninth commandment was taken to signify that Christians should be genuine in all their thinking and doing and should be on their guard against hypocrisy, flattery, calumny, back-biting, defamation, detraction, equivocal statements, and such like.

The tenth commandment, so Calvin concluded, warns against all discontentment with one's condition and urges Christians to cultivate "a right and charitable frame of spirit toward our neighbor and all that is his." The eighth commandment prohibits stealing; the tenth commandment forbids the desire to steal.

When Calvin passed the Shorter Catechism, the most important thing was not that he had mastered its contents but that in the process he had acquired an iron-clad attitude toward the Bible. Many heavy shots would be required to penetrate and to destroy that rigid point of view. The Bible contained the very words of God, and its authority must not be questioned. And the ten commandments were beyond all question scripture within scripture. That the Bible was "everywhere equally the Word of God" he believed because his Sunday School teacher and his minister had said so. That the ten commandments were designed to be taken literally he knew from the Old Testament itself. Had not God spoken to Moses "face to face out of the fire at the hill"? Had not God written these

identical words with his own fingers on the two stone tablets? Had not God summoned Moses to the top of Mount Sinai in order to give him the two tablets? Had not God restored the tablets and the writing thereon after the former set had been dashed to pieces? Were not the people so impressed with the seriousness of God that they "stood far back and said unto Moses, 'Speak you to us and we will listen; but let not God speak to us lest we die.' " Were not the ten commandments of such outstanding value that they were called "The Ten Words," "The Covenant," "The Two Tables," "The Testimony," "The Two Tables of Testimony," "The Words of the Covenant," "The Tables of the Covenant," "The Decalogue"? God, who "wills what is to be done for us, with us, and by us," had personally transmitted these ten commandments in order that they might be obeyed. Calvin MacPherson was incurably convinced that he knew the ten commandments of God and their correct interpretation.

His Catholic friends regarded Calvin MacPherson's ignorance as invincible. Any religious strategist could have predicted that this young man's point of view could never be changed by an attack from without. The one vulnerable spot the arrow of truth might some day hit was his serious faith in the inerrancy of the Bible.

CHAPTER IV

Four East Side Young Men Attend a Movie: "The Wonder Picture of the Age"

Some years had passed since Abraham Cohen had been confirmed and Patrick Murphy had laid aside the "Catechism of Christian Doctrine" and Calvin MacPherson had passed the "Shorter Catechism" and received his Bible. The trio lived in that great melting-pot of humanity, customs, and religion, the metropolis of the United States. They had been members of the same gang. They had gone on long hikes together. They had played baseball, football, and basket-ball together. But each had attempted to keep his religion to himself. Religion was a sacred and a private matter. Occasionally there had been a flare-up over some trivial religious practice, but they had managed to remain friends.

"The Wonder Picture of the Age" was on the silver screen this particular week. The trio decided to go. They were accompanied by another young man, Melanchthon Luther. As they viewed the magnificent scenes, they recalled the millions of dollars required to film it. They marveled at the size of the city gate and at the height of the colossi and at the weight of

the sphinxes and at the throngs. They noticed the hieroglyphics so curiously sculptured on the walls. They gazed upon the Egyptian taskmaster and Miriam in the style of the nineteenth century and the Pharaoh with a modern haircut. They were impressed with Moses in his flowing robe and with his crooked staff and long white hair. There was Rameses with his 600 chariots, pursuing the fleeing Hebrews. Then the Red Sea rolled back in two walls between which Moses and the Israelites marched, protected by the Pillar of Fire. The receding waters engulfed the Pharaoh and his host. And now Israel has come to Mount Sinai. "That's just as it must have been—lightning, thunder, smoke, the ten words on two tablets of stone, the golden calf, the broken tablets, the restored tablets," Calvin was saying to himself.

On emerging from the throng, the four walked on in silence awhile. Then Patrick remarked: "That was a great show! I believe I can still recite the ten commandments, although I have not looked at the 'Catechism of Christian Doctrine' for some years. 'I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not have strange gods before me'—that is number one. 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain'—that is number two."

"Right," said Melanchthon Luther.

"Wrong," fairly shouted Abraham and Calvin. Abraham continued, "The first commandment is, 'I am

the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.' The second commandment is, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me,' plus that long and involved reference to graven images and any manner of likeness of anything and all that about the jealous God who visits iniquity unto the third and fourth generations."

"Well, that is almost new to me. It seems to me I do hazily recall something or other about idolatry," said Patrick.

"*But I learned the ten commandments thoroughly.* I have at home the 'Book of Concord.' This contains the Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald articles, Martin Luther's Small Catechism and Large Catechism, and the Formula of Concord. These are the fundamentals of Lutheranism. You cannot find all of Abraham's second commandment in this book. He is in error. Patrick is right. The Catholic Church is right about the enumeration of the ten commandments, because it agrees with my church"—this from Melanchthon Luther.

It was Calvin's turn to speak. "All three of you are wrong. Abe has combined the first and second commandments into the second commandment and has made the preface of the decalogue into the first commandment. Pat and Melanchthon have omitted the real second commandment entirely."

"Do you mean to allege that Holy Church does not

know what the commandments of God are and that we do not know how to enumerate them? The ninth commandment of God is, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife,' and not 'Thou shalt not bear false witness.' The tenth commandment of God is, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods.' That ought to hold you for a while."

"You certainly are wrong!" shouted both Abraham and Calvin. "The ninth commandment is, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.' " For once Jew and Protestant agreed. But they immediately clashed, for Abraham insisted that the tenth commandment is, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, neither shalt thou desire thy neighbor's house; his field, or his man-servant, or his maid-servant, his ox, or his ass, or anything that is thy neighbor's."

"Where are the ten commandments found, if you know so much?" asked Calvin.

"In the fifth chapter of Deuteronomy," his friends replied.

"They are not! They are found in the twentieth chapter of Exodus," shouted Calvin.

The argument continued long and bitterly. Catholic and Lutheran agreed against Calvinist and Jew. Then each went home.

Abraham reread his manual and was reassured by his counselor, the rabbi. The Hebrews were given the Ten Words at Mount Sinai a dozen centuries before

Christianity appeared. Moreover, Christianity is a child of Judaism and simply took over from Judaism its doctrine of God, intermediate beings, angels and demons, messianism, the judgment, the resurrection, and other dogmas. God had chosen Israel and would never repudiate his people. "The Sonship, the Glory, the covenants, the divine revelation, the Worship, the promises, the patriarchs"—all these and more belonged to Israel. The day would come when Isaiah's prophecy would be fulfilled:

In after days it shall be
that the Eternal's hill shall rise,
towering over every hill,
and higher than the heights.
To it shall all the nations stream,
and many a folk exclaim,
"Come let us go to the Eternal's hill,
to the house of Jacob's God,
that he may instruct us in his ways
to walk upon his paths."
For instruction comes from Sion
and from Jerusalem, the Eternal's word.
He will decide the disputes of the nations,
and settle many a people's case,
till swords are beaten into ploughshares,
spears into pruning hooks;
No nation draws the sword against another,
no longer shall men learn to fight.
O household of Jacob, come,
let us live by the light of the Eternal.

Patrick did not need to consult any one. He knew that his Church was the one and only Church. It was hoary with age. With its martyrs, saints, apostles, tradition, mysteries, and infallible head—how could it be in error, and why did he for the moment become excited? Now he again recalled its unity and solidarity and catholicity. He thought of the many Protestant sects—over 200 in the United States alone. Did not the religious statistics of the world show 100,000,000 more Roman Catholics than Protestants? Had not Rome always had the primacy? When Rome spoke, was not discussion ended? Had not Dryden put the contrast between Catholicism and Protestantism very beautifully?

> One in herself, not rent by schism but sound,
> Entire, one solid, shining diamond;
> Not sparkles shattered into sects like you;
> One is the Church, and must be to be true;
> One central principle of unity.
> As undivided, so from errors free,
> As one in faith, so one in sanctity. . . .
> Thus one, thus pure, behold her largely spread,
> Like the fair ocean from her mother-bed;
> From East to West triumphantly she rides,
> All shores are watered by her wealthy tides.
> The gospel-sound diffused from pole to pole,
> Where winds can carry and where waves can roll,
> The self-same doctrine of the sacred page
> Conveyed to every clime in every age.

Had not Macaulay testified to the rock-ribbed permanency of Roman Catholicism when in 1840 he wrote: "There is not, and never was, on this earth, a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church. The history of that Church joins together the two great ages of human civilization. No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when camelopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheater. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of the Supreme Pontiffs. That line we trace back in an unbroken series, from the pope who crowned Napoleon in the nineteenth century to the pope who crowned Pepin in the eighth century: and far beyond the time of Pepin the august dynasty extends till it is lost in the twilight of fable. The republic of Venice came next in antiquity. But the republic of Venice is gone, and the papacy remains. The papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigor. The Catholic Church is still sending forth to the farthest ends of the world missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustin; and still confronting hostile kings with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the New World have more than compensated for her losses in the Old. Her spirit-

ual ascendency extends over the vast countries which lie between the plains of the Missouri and Cape Horn —countries which a century hence may not improbably contain a population as large as that which now inhabits Europe. The members of her communion are certainly not fewer than a hundred and fifty millions; and it will be difficult to show that all the other Christian sects united amount to a hundred and twenty millions. Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain—before the Frank had crossed the Rhine—when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch—when idols were still worshiped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigor when some traveler from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

When Patrick reflected upon all this, he felt deeply humiliated for not remaining serene.

Calvin MacPherson's intrenchments were not so impregnable. He knew that the appeal to antiquity could not settle the matter. "The devil is older than Christianity. That does not make him right. To be sure,

Judaism first received the Ten Commandments, but it subsequently lost them," Calvin soliloquized. His fundamentalist minister had told him all about it by quoting certain passages from an ancient writing that was called "the epistle of Barnabas." "You ought then to understand. And this also I ask you . . . take heed to yourselves now, and be not made like unto some, heaping up your sins and saying that *the covenant is both theirs and ours. It is ours:* but in this way did they finally lose it when Moses had just received it, for the Scripture says: 'And Moses was in the mount fasting forty days and forty nights, and he received the covenant from the Lord, tables of stone written with the finger of the hand of the Lord.' But they turned to idols and lost it. For thus saith the Lord: 'Moses, Moses, go down quickly, for thy people, whom thou didst bring out of the land of Egypt, have broken the Law.' *And Moses understood and cast the two tables out of his hands, and their covenant was broken in order that the covenant of Jesus the Beloved should be sealed in our hearts in hope of his faith.*"

Of course, Roman Catholicism could not possibly be right. But the weakness of Calvin's position was that it covered too much territory. He had affirmed his faith in the Bible from cover to cover without being aware of what was between the covers. Verbal inspiration blew up his fortifications. Since the Bible was "everywhere equally the Word of God" there could be no

disagreements between its statements. The Bible is the only authority in religious questions, he had been told repeatedly. "Nothing is to be accepted save on the authority of Scripture since greater is that authority than all the power of the human mind." There are no strata in the Bible. Leviticus equals Acts. Moreover, his Bible contained the original Word of God. For the words of the Bible had been kept pure in transmission. "Original words" lost in the course of the centuries are a travesty upon the doctrine of inspiration—this he saw plainly.

The more Calvin backed up into his citadel, the greater his problem became. For his friends had quoted ten commandments different from his both in text and in numbering. And yet they had appealed to the Bible.

For years he had been contending for the faith once for all delivered to the saints. He believed the Bible! He had fought and would fight for the Bible. He would die for his theory of the Bible! *But he had never read the book he so vociferously defended!* Here were nearly 1400 pages of difficult material. He was thoroughly unfamiliar with nine-tenths of it. Abraham and Patrick need not know their Bible intimately, because their religious point of view was different. But he must. There was no escape. To preserve his ethical integrity, Calvin MacPherson was compelled to ascertain what the Bible said about the ten commandments. And he did!

CHAPTER V

Calvin MacPherson Consults His Bible

Thy law is a lamp for my feet, a light on my path.

CALVIN MACPHERSON discovered a concordance in his father's library and went right at the solution of his problem. He looked up the key words of the ten commandments—"gods," "image," "vain," "sabbath," "honor," "kill," "adultery," "steal," "false witness," and "covet." As he read the biblical passages to which he was referred, he carefully observed marginal renderings and cross-references. He took copious notes. He collected a bewildering array of facts. Finally, he coordinated his data, dividing it into two principal sections, what the New Testament had to say regarding the ten commandments and what the Old Testament had to say regarding them.

The New Testament alludes to the ten commandments in various passages, such as Matthew 5 and 19, Mark 10, Luke 18, Romans 13, James 2, and Ephesians 6. The astonishing thing he observed was that sometimes the New Testament had the seventh commandment in the sixth place. The fifth commandment was also out of adjustment. Mark 10 with its "*do not*

defraud" was so irregular and exceptional that he became exceedingly worried. In Ephesians 6, he came upon "that it may be well with you" as a part of the fifth commandment. These words he traced to Deuteronomy 5. But both Abraham and Patrick had cited Deuteronomy. So his Jewish friend and his Catholic friend agreed with the New Testament, and he, one of the elect, did not!

Turning to the Old Testament, Calvin noted very striking differences between the ten commandments as recorded in Deuteronomy 5 and Exodus 20. He arranged the fourth, fifth, and tenth commandments in parallel columns, the better to appreciate these variations.

EXODUS 20	DEUTERONOMY 5
Commandment IV	
"Remember to hold the sabbath sacred. Six days you may labor and do all your business, but the seventh day is the sabbath in honor of the Eternal your God, and on it you must do no business, neither you nor your son nor your daughter, nor your slaves,	"Keep the sabbath sacred, as the Eternal your God has ordered you. Six days you may labor and do all your business, but the seventh day is the sabbath in honor of the Eternal, your God, and on it you must not do any business, neither you nor

male or female, nor your cattle, nor the alien who is among you; for in six days the Eternal made sky and earth and all that they contain, and then rested on the seventh day; therefore, the Eternal blessed the sabbath and made it a sacred day."

your son nor your daughter nor your slaves, male or female, nor your ox nor your ass nor any of your cattle, nor the alien who is among you. Your slaves are to rest as well as yourselves. Remember you were once slaves in the land of Egypt, and that the Eternal your God brought you out by sheer strength and main force. Hence the Eternal your God has ordered you to keep the sabbath."

Commandment V

"Honor your father and your mother, that you may have a long life in the land which the Eternal your God is giving you."

"Honor your father and your mother, as the Eternal your God has ordered you, that you may have a long life and that all may go well with you in the land which the Eternal your God is giving you."

Commandment X

"You shall not covet a fellow countryman's household; you shall not covet a fellow countryman's wife, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that belongs to a fellow countryman."

"Nor lust after his wife, nor covet his household, his property, his slaves, male or female, his ox, his ass, or anything that belongs to a fellow countryman."

"Why do I keep the sabbath holy?" mused Calvin. "I thought it was because God at the very beginning of the world rested on the seventh day. But Deuteronomy, which is also the Word of God, implies that the sabbath began after Israel had been delivered from bondage in Egypt and was instituted to commemorate that event. The sabbath is not as old as creation but only as old as Moses."

Again and again in his examination of the Bible with a view to ascertaining the true story of the ten commandments, Calvin had been directed to consider Exodus 34. He now turned to it. Toward the close of this chapter, he read: "Then said the Eternal to Moses, 'Write these words down, for these are the terms of the compact I have made with you and Israel.' He remained there beside the Eternal for forty days and forty nights, neither eating bread nor drinking

water; he wrote on the tablets the terms of the compact, *the ten commandments.*"

I

"You must not worship any other God."

II

"Never carve yourselves any metal gods."

III

"Hold the festival of unleavened cakes."

IV

"All the first-born belong to me."

V

"None of you must appear before me empty-handed."

VI

"For six days you shall labor, but on the seventh day you shall desist from work, and rest, even at the ploughing time and harvest."

VII

"You must hold the festival of weeks, when the first fruits of your wheat are harvested."

VIII

"And also the festival of ingathering at the revolution of the year."

IX

"Three times each year must all your males appear in the presence of the Lord the God of Israel."

X

"You must never present the blood of any sacrifice with leavened cakes."

XI

"No part of the sacrifice must be left over all night till next morning."

XII

"You must bring the very first and the finest of what the land bears into the house of the Eternal your God."

XIII

"You must not boil a kid in its mother's milk."

"Will wonders never cease? It says 'ten,' but I find thirteen commandments. And in neither Deuteronomy 5 nor Exodus 20 do I find any 'ten'! Who put the 'ten' into the ten commandments, I wonder! How different these commandments of Exodus 34 are from those that were taught me."

Calvin's greatest surprise came when he detected a fourth decalogue in Exodus 23. It agreed with his third decalogue much more than with his first or second set of ten commandments.

I

"For six days you shall labor, but on the seventh day you shall desist from work, that your ox and your ass may rest, and that the sons born to your female slaves and also the aliens in your employment may get refreshed."

II

"Hold the festival of unleavened cakes at the time fixed in the month of Abib."

III

"None of you must appear before me empty-handed."

IV

"Then the harvest festival, when you offer the first fruits of your labor, of what you sowed in your field."

V

"Then the feast of ingathering at the exit of the year when you gather your crops."

VI

"Three times a year shall all your male members appear before the Lord."

VII

"You must not offer the blood of my sacrifices with leavened cakes."

VIII

"Nor must the fat slices of my victims be left until morning."

IX

"You must bring the very first and finest of what the land bears into the house of the Eternal your God."

X

"You must not boil a kid in its mother's milk."

Calvin noticed that the only commandment certainly found in all four lists is the one regarding a day of rest. The first and second commandments of his set occur in three of these lists. If "you shall not use the name of the Eternal, your God, profanely" is the equivalent of "none of you must appear before me empty-handed," the third commandment is common to all four lists. But the traditional commandments V-X are not discoverable in either Exodus 23 or 34. Calvin at last admitted that he did not know what the original

"ten-finger memorial" was. *As for "verbal inspiration," he could not find the expression in the Bible to which he had appealed!*

Calvin now sought help in commentaries, Bible dictionaries, and monographs upon the ten commandments. He learned that many Old Testament scholars refused to trace any of the existing forms of the decalogue to Moses and also that there was considerable disagreement regarding the text of the original decalogue.

He copied two reconstructions of the original decalogue into his note-book. One was merely a simplification of the traditional decalogue of Exodus 20, reducing its text from some 620 letters to about 159 letters. An English scholar, Charles by name, had suggested it. It read as follows:

I

"Thou shalt have none other gods before me."

II

"Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image."

III

"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain."

IV

"Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy."

V

"Honor thy father and thy mother."

VI

"Thou shalt not kill."

VII

"Thou shalt not commit adultery."

VIII

"Thou shalt not steal."

IX

"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

X

"Thou shalt not covet."

The other reconstruction of the ten commandments, proposed by an American scholar, Pfeiffer by name, which he found in a critical biblical journal, offered an essentially different original decalogue, namely:

I

"Six days thou shalt work, on the seventh desist."

II

"Keep the feast of unleavened bread in Abib."

III

"And the first of the harvest, the first-fruits of your labor."

IV

"And the feast of ingathering at the end of the year."

V

"Three times annually all your males shall appear before me."

VI

"The first-born of your sons and cattle you shall give me."

VII

"Do not sacrifice the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread."

VIII

"The fat of my feast shall not remain all night till morning."

IX

"You must bring the very first and the very finest of what the land bears to the house of your God."

X

"You must not boil a kid in its mother's milk."

This decalogue refers to five festivals and gives five directions regarding sacrifices. It clearly reflects an agricultural situation such as existed in Canaan.

Neither of these simple decalogues could have grown into the other. Some of the prohibitions of the ethical decalogue must have antedated the time of Moses even if some were later than his age.

Calvin now traced the story of each of the traditional commandments from its beginning to the modern period. Some of his findings are set down in the chapters that follow. In them the enumeration of the ten commandments adopted by John Calvin, the Anglican Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Westminster Shorter Catechism is used, both because of its general familiarity and because it corresponds more nearly to the original arrangement of the ten words.[1]

[1] For the facts underlying this story of the Decalogue, the author is indebted to numerous English, German, and French scholars. He desires to make special acknowledgment of his obligation to W. F. Badé, "The Old Testament in the Light of Today," New York, 1915, pp. 88-131; R. H. Charles, "The Decalogue," Edinburgh, 1923 (easily the best study of the Decalogue in English); H. S. Coffin, "The Ten Commandments," New York, 1915.

CHAPTER VI

Yahweh as National God

> Thou shalt not prostrate thyself before any other God.
> Hear, O Israel, Yahweh our God is one Yahweh.

Ammon had its Milcom. Moab had its Chemosh. Philistia had its Dagon. Palestine and Israel had their Yahweh.

Monolatry, the worship of one God, not monotheism, the belief that there is only one God, forms the background of the first commandment. Other gods exist. They hold sway elsewhere. They may not rule over Palestine. They must not be worshiped in Israel. In Palestine Yahweh is to be recognized as supreme. In the cultus of Israel let the name of no local baal be mentioned. Yahweh is jealous of all rivals. His preëminence is acknowledged in the refrain, "Who is like unto thee, O Yahweh, among the gods?"

The Deuteronomic reformation of the late seventh century before Christ succeeded in making Yahweh one Yahweh. Prior to this period Yahweh did not advance to sole sovereignty in Israel. Divided allegiance is witnessed to in Solomon, who built the temple for Yahweh but also erected shrines for Astarte, the god-

dess of the Phoenicians; for Milcom, the god of the Ammonites, for Chemosh, the god of the Moabites, and for other gods and goddesses.

According to one tradition of the Hebrews, Yahweh was god of the patriarchs. According to another Hebrew tradition, Yahweh became their god near the sacred hill of Sinai, where he appeared to Moses in a thorn-bush "ablaze with fire but not consumed." Thither Israel, miraculously rescued from slavery in Egypt, journeyed. There Yahweh spoke with Moses face to face even as a friend doth speak to his friend. There Moses, denied the sight of the full face of Yahweh, looked upon his back. There Moses and his companions saw Yahweh. There Yahweh wrote the decalogue upon two stone tablets. Thence Yahweh rushed to the aid of the hosts of Israel under Deborah and Barak in the Kishon wady:

> At thine advance from Seir, O Eternal,
> upon thy march from Edom's land,
> earth was shaking,
> the skies quaking,
> clouds dripped water,
> mountains streamed,
> in front of the Eternal, Israel's God.

Hebrew folk-lore has preserved a story of a contest between Dagon of the Philistines and Yahweh of Israel. The Philistines had captured the ark of God and to secure the aid of Yahweh had installed it in the tem-

ple of Dagon. They did not appreciate Yahweh's attitude toward other gods. When they entered their temple the following morning, they found Dagon "flat on his face on the ground, in front of the ark of the Eternal." Not comprehending what had happened, they restored Dagon to his pedestal. The next morning they found Dagon "flat on his face on the ground in front of the ark of the Eternal—the head and both the hands of Dagon severed on the threshold, and only the trunk of Dagon left"! When the defeat of Dagon by Yahweh was followed by wasting tumors, the Philistines at last perceived that Yahweh desired to return to his own soil. So they made expiation and sent the ark of Yahweh back to Palestine.

David was also of the opinion that Yahweh's sway was confined to Palestine, for to leave Palestine was to be banished "from all contact with the Eternal's own land" and to engage in the worship of other gods. Elisha consents to the request of Naaman the Syrian for two mules' burden of the soil of Palestine that he may effectually worship Yahweh in distant Damascus.

Yahweh was at first inclined suddenly to become angry, to change his mind, to repent, to grieve, and was very far from being omniscient.

Yahweh was likewise a warrior-god skillful in fighting. He scattered Israel's foes and routed those who withstood his people. A book, no longer extant, entitled "The Battles of Yahweh," recorded his numerous vic-

tories. Yahweh's instructions regarding prisoners and booty were very explicit. "When the Eternal, your God, delivers it up to you, then you must kill every male inhabitant without quarter; however, you may seize for yourselves the women and children and animals and all the plunder in the town. . . . So shall you treat all towns at a great distance from you, which do not belong to the nations around. But in the towns of the nations here, which the Eternal, your God, is giving you for your own, you must not leave a human soul alive; you must put them all to death."

When King Saul defeated the Amalekites under Agag, he "massacred all the people, giving no quarter." But the king he spared—perchance anticipating a return of the favor. Forthwith Yahweh was sorry that he had appointed Saul king. Yahweh's more obedient servant, Samuel, hacked "Agag to pieces before the Eternal at Gilgal."

The gods of ancient men were accustomed to demand the sacrifice of the first-born both of men and of cattle. Child sacrifice was prevalent among the neighbors of Israel. What the surrender of the first-born meant to parents and to the victims, Shastid has vividly pictured in his "Simon of Cyrene": "And Gillul the priestess summoned a trembling father up before the congregation who had with him a little child. These twain set she down before the unhewn stone. Said she to the father, 'This is December 25. What hast thou as a gift

unto Dusares?' Said he, 'I have my child.' 'Dost thou give him freely?' then asked she. The father choked and looked on his child weeping. Yet he said, 'I do. I do give him freely!' Cried Gillul, 'Hither, O priest of sacrifices!' A man robed in white came from an excavation in the mountain having in his hand a great blade. Whereat the child did scream and press his head against his father's bosom. 'Father!' 'What, O my son?' 'Lovest thou me?' 'Assuredly, my son. I have always loved thee better than my own soul: thou art unto me first and last and only.' 'Who then will be thy son, dear father, when I am gone? . . . Art thou sure that this is right, O my father?' 'It is right,' said the father; 'my son, it is very right. Dusares demandeth it.' 'Dusares doth indeed demand it,' said in a low dead tone the white priest. And he signed to the congregation, which arose and began singing, that the god Dusares might be unable to hear the screaming of the child and, being offended by this, reject the sacrifice. The priest plucked up the child out of its father's bosom, and cut its throat and the blood spouted. And the father fell straight down on the rocky ground. But the priest took blood on his hand and, smearing the stone with it, cried out above the congregation: 'We come unto Dusares! We come, we come.' And he moistened the soil about the stone with the blood of the child and, digging a hole beneath the stone, did lay the child's body therein; and so buried it. And the congregation left their places,

and wildly marched around the stone, crying: 'We come, Dusares! Great is Dusares! Holy is Dusares! We come, we come!'

"Some did pass their hands both on and over the stone, some lay down and kissed it. All were barefoot, carrying each his shoes in his hand."

Did Israel ever regard human sacrifice as a requirement of Yahweh? To him Jephthah sacrificed his only child, his virgin daughter, as a burnt offering. Centuries later, Hebrew writers could still represent Abraham as receiving from God the command to offer his only son in sacrifice on one of the hills of Palestine. "You *must* give me your eldest sons. And so with your oxen and your sheep; for seven days the firstling may remain with its dam, but on the eighth day you *must* give it to me," occurs among the statutes of Exodus. Yahweh even reminded his people of his right to the first-born: "When I killed all the eldest born in the land of Egypt, *I claimed as my own all the eldest born in Israel, both man and beast.*" At a later time the father redeemed the first-born child thirty days after birth by paying five shekels to God. And if Israel did not believe that child-sacrifice was the will of Yahweh, why must Jeremiah in the sixth century before Christ, in the period immediately preceding the Babylonian exile, let Yahweh declare that he never ordered the burning alive of Hebrew sons and daughters, "a thing which never entered my mind," or why must Ezekiel, who wrote sub-

sequently to Jeremiah, suggest that God permitted the burning alive of the first-born children to teach Israel that he was Yahweh? Naturally enough the later Hebrews regarded the custom as abominable to Yahweh and most loathsome.[1]

Did Yahweh as national god of Israel have jurisdiction over Sheol, the "common abiding-place of all the dead"? The opening chapters of Genesis do not list Sheol among the creative works of God. Yahweh does not punish within the "death-land." Death back there did not signify to be with Yahweh:

> In death's realm there is no thought of thee,
> and who can praise thee in the world below?

The pious Hebrew feared to depart thither because he would be

> left to himself among the dead,
> like the slain lying in their graves,
> of whom thou hast mind no more—
> they are deprived of thee.
>
> For death-land cannot thank thee,
> death cannot sing thy praise,
> And those who pass down to the pit
> have no hope of thy love.

Thus, Yahweh began as a tribal god, warlike, cruel, vindictive, limited in his sway, jealous of other gods.

[1] For present Jewish views and practice, see "The Jewish Encyclopedia," Vol. V, p. 396.

Centuries had to intervene ere Judaism could define God as "one, perfect, spiritual, eternal; the omnipresent Creator of all that is; the omniscient Ruler of the universe; the wise and loving Father of mankind."

CHAPTER VII

"Our Father"

Shall not the Judge of all the earth do justly?

The mountains may depart and the hills be removed, but my kindness shall not depart from thee.

He is our Father.

The human race is conservative. It frowns upon change. Religion, because of its antiquity and value, has always been the main support of this opposition to progress. Nevertheless, religion is ever changing and causing changes. It continues to employ the old phraseology but empties it of its ancient content. It incorporates the findings of martyred heretics in its orthodox faith. It accepts horizontally what the heretic proposes vertically. It resorts to allegory in order to maintain its devotion to ideas that have vanished. It builds institutions which destroy the ideals that produced them. When it most emphatically asserts its unchanging nature, it forgets its own past. It resists the substitution of soda for milk-bushes but permits the purchase of the new kind of soap. It raises objections to the building of railroads as contravening the intention of God but fails to protest against riding in a Pullman. It trans-

forms cruelty, obscenity, and loathsomeness into mercy, chastity, and beauty. Indeed, the religious conscience of a later day even ventures to repudiate the earlier sanctions and rites: "You can add your burnt-offerings to your other sacrifices and eat the flesh yourselves! When I brought your fathers from the land of Egypt, I said nothing to them, I gave them no orders about burnt-offerings or sacrifices; my orders were, 'Listen to my voice, and I will be your God, you shall be my people: live exactly as I order you, that you may prosper.'"

"God has changed a lot since Judges was written," remarked a Sunday-school pupil. No one present at an ancient religious cremation of a shrieking child could have dreamed that God would become a Father who lets his sun shine upon the fields of the unjust as well as upon the fields of the just. And yet precisely this marvelous transfiguration has occurred. It probably constitutes the principal achievement of the human race, since it involves brotherhood and internationalism and peace.

Before Yahweh could become good, he had to become just. This caused the criticism of the ceremonial religion as unethical.

> Crowd my courts no more,
> bring offerings no more;
> the smoke of sacrifice is vain, I loath it. . . .

Your hands are full of bloodshed;
wash yourselves clean,
banish your evil-doings from my sight,
cease to do wrong,
learn to do right,
make justice your aim,
and put a check on violence,
let orphans have their rights,
uphold the widow's cause—

—this is Isaiah's way of stating the problem. Micah put it classically:

Would the Eternal care for rams in thousands
or for oil flowing in myriad streams?
Shall I offer my first-born son for my sin,
fruit of my body for sin of my soul?
O man, he has told you what is good;
what does the Eternal ask from you
but to be just and kind
and live in quiet fellowship with your God?

Monotheism emerges with Jeremiah. The gods of the nations become unreal—"hand-made gods, gods of wood and stone that neither see nor hear nor eat nor smell; is man to make gods for himself—gods that are no gods at all?"

But if there is only one God, then he must be God of all the nations. Monotheism tends to produce the disintegration of nationalism and to promote the growth of internationalism and universality. The prophecy of Jonah is aware of this: "So the Eternal said

to him, 'You are sorry about the gourd, though you spent no toil upon it, you never made it grow—a gourd that sprang up in a night and perished in a night! And am I not to be sorry for Nineveh, that great city, with over a hundred and twenty thousand infants in it who know not their right hand from their left, and with all its cattle?' "

The one and only God was gradually granted control of the future. Definite doctrines of the resurrection, judgment, bliss, and eternal suffering resulted. Later passages in the Old Testament, several paragraphs in the Apocrypha, and numerous statements in the New Testament make it possible to trace step by step the development of the idea of a blessed immortality from its first appearance in the second century before Christ on into the Christian era:

And many who sleep in the dust of death shall awake, some to life forevermore and some to be rejected and abhorred forevermore.

O thou Eternal, thy dead shall live again,
awakening from the dust
with songs of joy.

Thus reasoned they, and they were led astray,
For their wickedness blinded them,
And they knew not the mysteries of God,
Neither hoped they for wages of holiness,
Nor did they judge that there is a prize for blameless souls
Because God created man for incorruption,

And made him an image of his own proper being,
But by the envy of the devil death entered into the world,
And they that are of his portion make trial thereof.
But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,
And no torment shall touch them.
In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died;
And their departure was accounted to be their hurt,
And their journeying away from us to be their ruin:
But they are in peace.
For even if in the sight of men they be punished,
Their hope is full of immortality:
And having borne a little chastening they shall receive great good;
Because God made trial of them, and found them worthy of himself.
As gold in the furnace he proved them,
And as a whole burnt-offering he accepted them.

"And when Judas the Maccabee had made a collection man by man to the sum of two thousand drachmas of silver, he sent unto Jerusalem to offer a sacrifice for sin, doing therein right well and honorably, in that he took thought for a resurrection. For if he were not expecting that they that had fallen would rise again, it were superfluous and idle to pray for the dead."

"For when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as angels in heaven."

The Hebrew doctrine of God culminated in the belief in his Fatherhood with the correlative ideas of

sonship and brotherhood. God is Father both of the individual and the nation. "And I will be their Father, and they shall be my people," "He is our Father," "Hear me your Father, O my children," "that thou mightest become to Him a son," are affirmations met with in the pre-Christian era.

Jesus made the unbroken Fatherhood of God one of his fundamentals. He believed that the universe was friendly. Jesus taught that God may be loved and trusted because a father is never vindictive and cannot deceive his child. Jesus approached the solution of all questions from the point of view of God and eternity. The sovereignty of God is the guarantee of life. The Father is interested in man and cares—"and yet God feeds them; but if God clothes the vegetation of the fields . . . how much more certainly will he clothe you." The Father's love need not be set free. It is the prodigal's thought of home that causes him to arise and go to his father. It is the Father's nature to forgive freely. His character is the standard for his children—"ye shall be complete in goodness, as your heavenly Father is complete." All who know the Father desire to coöperate with him, to be kind, to manifest good will. "You have heard the saying, 'You must love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But I tell you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, that you may be sons of your Father in heaven:

he makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust."

The adherents of Jesus all too soon depreciated the universality of the Fatherhood of God. Christianity exchanged the gospel of Jesus, the Fatherhood of God, brotherhood of man, infinite worth of personality, and the kingdom of God for a gospel concerning Jesus, for a method of salvation. Religion has a habit of doing this. In the case of Jesus it was inevitable because his greatest achievement was himself and his catastrophic death upon the cross demanded explanation. But in formulating the dogmas of Christianity, many statements regarding God were made which would have amazed not only Jesus but also Paul. Biblical phraseology was sometimes retained long after its meaning had been effaced. No author of a New Testament gospel or epistle could have passed an examination at Nicaea. The God of Augustine—to mention but one instance—is not the Father of Jesus. Is the affirmation, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth," an adequate description of the Christian idea of God or merely the reaction of the orthodoxy of the second century to the Gnostic attempt to separate the God of the Old Testament from the Father of Jesus? Does not the definition of God in the Westminster Shorter Catechism—"God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness. and truth"—lack the

word which Jesus considered all-important? In the 107 questions and answers of this catechism, "Father" appears only in connection with the dogma of the trinity and the preface of the Lord's Prayer! But much is made of decrees, foreordination, and the fall. Is not a new catechism more sympathetic with the experience of Jesus overdue? The modern world pleads for more than a liturgical employment of "Father."

Slowly and painfully man has reached the conclusion that it is his interpretation of God that matters. It is his faith that counts. It is what his assumptions urge him to do that is important. When the lily, true to the law of its life, sends its roots down into the nourishing slime and its stalk up to the helping sunlight, the heavenly Father clothes it in wondrous beauty. He feeds the bird that, true to the law of its life, flies about and seeks its food. When man trusts in the unseen and the eternal and acts from motives of justice and of love, he experiences God as real. And amid all the mysteries of life, its duties, its conflicts, its personal and family tragedies, man will continue to assume a God that cares, although "no man has ever seen God or can see him."

Modern man may know more about "the founding of the earth," "the rousing of the morning," "the fountains of the sea," "the gates of death," "the stores of the snow and the arsenals of the hail," "the signs of the Zodiac and the control of the skies," than ancient

man knew, but in the end he joins Job in confessing that the "Almighty is beyond our minds." Modern man knows quite as much as John Calvin knew about God, but he is much more humble and modest in the presence of the problem of evil. He refuses to resort to bold bluff to conceal the meagerness of his knowledge. He is learning what it means to live by faith.

" 'What more do you ask?' exclaimed a voice within me. 'This is he. He is that without which one cannot live. To know God and to live are one and the same thing.' "

" 'When you seek me with all your heart, I will reveal myself unto you,' saith the Eternal."

CHAPTER VIII

The Golden Calf and the Bronze Serpent

> Here is your God, O Israel, who brought you out of the land of Egypt!
>
> Moses made a bronze serpent and erected it on a pole; and when any one who had been bitten by a serpent looked at the bronze serpent, he lived.

THE second commandment proscribes the manufacture and worship of images. Whether the nomad Hebrew had advanced to the iconic stage of culture ere he met the civilization of the Canaanitish city-states may be debated. That there was little repugnance to molten or graven images among the Hebrews until the eighth century before Christ is susceptible of proof. This implies that the second commandment originated centuries after the era of Moses or else was disregarded by very pious Israelites for hundreds of years.

No one today takes seriously the statement of a second-century Christian philosopher that the making of images was derived from the Old Testament. "Let us make man in our image and likeness" contains a philosophy of religion, but originated at too late a day to account for image-worship.

Images and image-worship are found the world over.

But they are of several sorts and of a variety of significance. Images are drawn, carved, sculptured, or painted representations of things. Their purpose may be to edify or commemorate, to reproduce episodes, scenes, objects, or persons. They may be idealizations of hopes and of despair, of virtues and of vices. They may be symbols of learning, justice, or religion. Magical power may attach to an image. It may be put to use to secure or increase the food supply and offspring. A portrait or a statue may become a talisman possessing extraordinary energy but not worshiped. When the talisman is regarded as inhabited by a spirit, the fetish level has been reached. The fetish supplies the transition to the idol, which represents the assumed form of the spirit dwelling within it. In the idol the image becomes "conscious." There may be or supposed to be opening or closing of eyes, movement of lips, consumption of food.

Various peoples while in the savage or semi-savage stage of culture have had and have no idols. An appreciation of art and a considerable cultural development precede idolatry. Sacred trees, pillars, stones, and poles antedate carved images of gods. Pebbles, seeds, bones, sticks, resembling animals and men, helped suggest the use of crude chisel to cut a picture from a rough stone and the application of coarse brush to a flat surface to delineate an outline of animal or man. Beautiful human forms only at a much later time called forth such repre-

sentations as Father Nile, Artemis, Isis, and Mithra. Exceedingly gradually man made his god in his own image.

When the human form of idol emerges, the bird or animal that originally visualized the god may become the god's attendant or servant, may be demoted into an evil spirit, may combine with the human form in a marvelous bird-man or animal-man or bird-animal-man composite. The eagle of Zeus, the owl of Athena, the dove of Aphrodite, the hind of Artemis, and the curious figures of the Egyptian and Assyrian religions are illustrations of this process.

The religion of Israel passed through these phases of image-worship. Jacob through lies and deception had managed to obtain the blessing of the first-born. Esau therefore hated him and planned to murder him. Jacob escaped the fury of his older brother by flight. While journeying toward Haran, Jacob was overtaken by night. He put a stone under his head and lay down to sleep. He dreamed of steps from earth to high heaven and angels of God ascending and descending them. On awaking in the morning he concluded that this was a dwelling place of God, took the stone through which God had manifested himself, and *erected it as a pillar, anointing it with oil*. There also he made his vow. Jacob moved on to the pasture-lands of his uncle Laban. For seven years' service, Leah, oldest daughter of Laban, was bestowed upon Jacob; for fourteen years' service,

Rachel, the girl of his choice. Meanwhile Jacob through magic in breeding sheep was acquiring most of his uncle's wealth. A hurried departure became unavoidable. Laban hotly pursued him. When an armistice was arranged, a *boulder was erected as witness.* Again, Jacob named the altar built at Shechem, "El, God of Israel."

In the period of the exodus from Egypt, Yahweh concluded a covenant with Israel. Thereupon Moses built an altar and set up twelve pillars as witnesses—one for each of the clans of Israel.

Hebrew compositions about the time of Jesus describe the father of Abraham as both a fashioner of idols and a worshiper of them.

Worthy Hebrews from Aaron the priest to Amon the king are accused of making and worshiping idols. Rachel, favorite wife of Jacob, was so fond of her father's household gods that she stole them and cleverly concealed them against his persistent search. Ezekiel lets Israel worship detestable impieties in Egypt and alleges that the various sheiks of Israel offered incense to "all kinds of vermin and reptiles, loathsome representations."

The group of Hebrews safely led out of slavery in Egypt is represented as begging Aaron to make them a god that will lead the way. The men were so much in earnest and so sincerely believed in idols that they broke off the golden earrings from the ears of the

women and children and gave them to Aaron. When the metal calf had been carved, the people cried, "Here is your God, O Israel, who brought you out of the land of Egypt!" Moreover, Aaron, the priest and brother of Moses, turned this frenzy into a feast in honor of Yahweh.

On one occasion during the trek to Canaan, Israel attacked God and Moses, complaining that neither bread nor water was on hand. In revenge Yahweh dispatched stinging serpents which shot deadly poison into many Hebrews. When the people acknowledged their sin, Moses prayed to Yahweh for forgiveness. Under divine orders he erected a bronze serpent on a pole "so that any person who was bitten might live *by looking at it.*" Many looked and lived.

The Canaanitish environment was discovered to be rather idolatrous. Figured stones, metal idols, carved images, obelisks, sacred poles, were in use. Numerous statuettes of various Egyptian divinities, images of Astarte, fish, doves, cows, and a brazen serpent, have recently been found in mounds of Palestine.

A strange tale survives in the seventeenth and eighteenth chapters of the book of Judges. Some parts of the story are regarded as of a rather late origin. This merely establishes the point that fifth-century Hebrews were convinced that carved metal idols were worshiped immediately after the Israelite invasion of Canaan. A certain Micah who lived in the highlands

of Ephraim, an adherent of Yahweh, had a shrine in which he had installed ephod, household gods, a carved metal idol, and a young Levite as priest. Migrating Danites robbed Micah of all his religious equipment and installed it in their shrine in the newly-built town of Dan. And the priests who officiated at this shrine with the carved metal idol "all the time that the temple of God stood at Shilo" were descendants of Moses.

Gideon, valiant Hebrew warrior, supported by faithful tribesmen, vanquished the Midianites. In appreciation the people offered him the chief sheikship. Not desiring to usurp the position of Yahweh, whose function it was to rule, Gideon asked for the golden earrings among the booty. They weighed seventy pounds. Gideon now manufactured an ornamental idol and set it up in his native town of Ophrah *where all Israel worshiped it.* Idolatry in Israel, in the period before the kingdom, was not a local cult but a rather generally practiced custom.

Saul and David had fallen out. David turned fugitive and brigand. On one occasion Saul tried hard to "pin David to the wall with a spear." But David escaped the throw. To insure capture in the morning, Saul had David's house surrounded. Michal, daughter of Saul and wife of David, sided with her husband and enabled him to escape. In the morning the messengers arrived to arrest David. Michal reported him at home but ill. King Saul was obdurate. The messengers were

sent back to fetch the sick man. They approached David's bed only to discover that Michal had deceived them by wrapping some goat's hair around their household god and putting him to bed. Her subterfuge indicates that David's household god resembled man in size and appearance. David, though a staunch member of the Yahweh group, had an idol in his home which was more than an ornamental antique.

Solomon built a temple in honor of Yahweh but constructed within it a round metal tank holding over 16,000 gallons and resting upon "twelve bulls, three facing the north, three facing the west, three facing the south, and three facing the east. The tank was placed on their backs, their haunches being turned inward." Gourdlike rosettes encircled this tank. There were ornamental flowers. Cherubim were carved on the wall in the shrine, while in the most sacred interior two cherubim in woodwork were to be seen. Two columns arose in front of the temple. Thus the Yahweh temple at Jerusalem contained a variety of images.

After the death of Solomon, about 937 before Christ, the Hebrews engaged in a little civil conflict which ended in the establishment of two small kingdoms in tiny Palestine, Israel in the north under Jeroboam, Judah in the south under Rehoboam. Jeroboam was a religious and political conservative. Desiring to maintain and strengthen the received faith of Israel, he had two golden calves made, placing one at Bethel

in the south, the other at Dan in the north. This made it unnecessary for pious Israelites to leave the country to engage in proper worship. There is no hint that the worship of the golden bulls was resented. It would be hard to understand how Jeroboam with numerous political problems on his hands would have risked a religious crisis by introducing a new type of worship. Religious innovators have usually paid heavily for their radicalism. Jeroboam was not another Ikhnaton. Whether native to some tribe of Hebrews or borrowed from Egypt or from Canaan, bull-worship was regular in Israel in the tenth century before Christ. Stalwart defenders of Yahweh like Elijah, Elisha, and Amos do not censure the bull-worship at Bethel and at Dan.

Were these golden calves worshiped as symbols of Yahweh? They were described as the gods of Israel that had led the Hebrews safely from Egypt to the land flowing with milk and honey. The dance before the golden calf represented as fashioned by Aaron was in honor of Yahweh. The twenty-eight-pound silver idol which the Danites placed in their temple at Dan was devoted to Yahweh. The Hebrews had images in human form. And the song of Moses refers to Yahweh as the "Steadfast One, your Sire . . . the God who bore you." Did the Yahweh cult pass from animal form to the glorified human form which Ezekiel beheld and of which the "figure in human form coming with the clouds of heaven" in the apocalypse of Daniel

is reminiscent? The prophet Hosea certainly interprets the idolatry of his day as an element in the Yahweh cult.

To return to the bronze serpent. The time is about 700 B.C. Hezekiah, king of Judah for twenty-nine years, is reigning. He was a pious king, altogether faithful to Yahweh. His intimate friend was Isaiah, the prophet, who pictures the land as "full of idols with no end of images." Jerusalem and Judah have shrines and obelisks and sacred poles. Images are being kissed, caressed, consulted, carried in processions, clothed in costly garments, incensed. And in Jerusalem there is a bronze serpent. Current folklore regarded that serpent as having been made by Moses during the journey from Egypt to Canaan. It was worshiped with sacrifices and looked upon as subject to Yahweh. Archaeology has recovered a bronze serpent and serpent heads from the débris of Canaanitish culture. The bronze serpent may originally have been a Canaanitish idol representing a spring spirit. Its worship may have been antedated to the time of Moses. Hezekiah demolished the serpent idol in Jerusalem.

King Manasseh built shrines and erected altars to Baal, made images of Astarte, burned his children in sacrifice, and worshiped all the stars. Idolatry dies hard. About 621 B.C., Josiah reformed the worship of Judah. The pious king was obliged to remove an idol of Astarte from the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. He

came upon many people who were burning incense to Baal, to the sun, the moon, the planets, and all the stars. The kings of Judah had set up figures of horses for the sun at the entrance to the temple of Yahweh. Shrines to Astarte and Chemosh and Milcom were there. Mediums, wizards, household idols, fetishes, detestable idols, were found in great abundance throughout Judah.

Suppose we let Ezekiel, who was deported to Babylonia in 597 B.C., inform us regarding the idolatry current in Judah in his day. "Then the Spirit lifted me between earth and heaven and brought me, in visions of God, to Jerusalem, to the door of the north gateway into the inner court where the idol stood which provoked the Eternal to resentment. 'Son of man,' he said, 'do you see what they are doing? Do you see the horrible impieties that the Israelites are practising here, forcing me to leave my sanctuary? You shall see worse than that.' So I went and looked; there, pictured all round the wall, were all kinds of vermin and reptiles, loathsome representations, and all the idols of Israel. 'Son of man,' he said, 'do you see the sheiks of Israel, each offering incense to his idol? You shall see still worse—women wailing for Tammuz, men worshiping the sun in the east.'

" 'You took the fine jewels of gold and silver that I had given to you, and made yourself human figures, with which you played the harlot; you covered these

idols with my embroidered robes, you offered them my oil and incense. . . . The sons and daughters that you bore me, these you took and burned to them in sacrifice.' "

What more need be said? The history of the Hebrews from Moses to Ezekiel abounds with references to images of all kinds—idols in both animal and human form, from insect, bird, and beast to host of heaven. The earlier commandment against images was directed merely against metal gods. The later commandment proscribing both the manufacture and worship of all kinds of images is conspicuous by its absence from the period of the exodus to the deportation to Babylonia. During some of these centuries those most devoted to Yahweh were unfamiliar with such a prohibitory statute. Gideon and David and Solomon had no intention of nullifying a commandment of God.

But what of the laws now found in the Pentateuch directed against the manufacture and the worship of images, such as, "You must not carve yourselves any gods of silver or of gold to rank with me; heed not unreal gods, never make yourselves metal gods; you shall not manufacture any unreal gods for yourselves, you shall not erect any carved idol or obelisk, you shall not put up any figured stone for worship in your land; when you cross the Jordan into the land of Canaan, you must evict all the natives of the land, you must shatter all their figured stones and metal idols"?

These statutes were passed in consequence of the reformation that began about 621 B.C. Later generations antedated them. And this revision of history only too clearly indicates how terrifically the Hebrews of the fifth and later centuries before Christ despised idolatry. The Babylonian exile effaced idolatry among the Hebrews.

CHAPTER IX

The Hebrew Conquest of Idolatry

> The Levites shall proclaim aloud to all the men of Israel: "A curse on the man who carves or casts an idol—which the Eternal detests—the work of a craftsman's hands, erecting it in secret!" And all the people shall answer, "So be it."

Moses and his friends ascended Mount Sinai and gazed upon Yahweh. Half a millennium later Yahweh had become the invisible God without shape or form. Hence idolatry, formerly orthodox, began to be rated as a capital offense. And the ridicule of carved and molten images became a main feature of the prophetic message.

Hosea inaugurated the prophetic protest against images some two decades before the fall of Samaria. His invective was aimed at Samaria's bull-worship:

> Of silver and gold they made them idols—
> only to be wasted.
> Your Calf, Samaria, I detest it,
> a craftsman made it,
> it is not God—
> No, Samaria's Calf shall be smashed . . .
> and men at sacrifice,
> men offer kisses to calves!

It is the seventh century. Isaiah takes pains to sketch the process by which a god comes into existence. It is a bit of pointed irony:

> Whom can you compare with God?
> What can you put beside him?
> A metal image!—that the workman casts,
> and the goldsmith gilds,
> every one helping the other,
> and cheering his comrade on,
> the workman encouraging the goldsmith,
> the carpenter the blacksmith,
> the solderer plating his work
> and fastening it tight with nails!
> While he who carves an idol out of wood
> chooses a tree that will not rot,
> then gets a clever carpenter
> to set him up an idol that will stand!

It is near the close of the seventh century. Unfigured representations of Yahweh are now forbidden. Soon the manufacture of any kind of idol and the worship of the hosts of heaven will be illegal in Israel. For at Horeb, Yahweh spoke out of the flames, and no one beheld a shape or form. Moreover, the sun and moon and stars have been allotted to all the nations under the broad sky for worship, but Israel has been selected for Yahweh-worship.

It is the early sixth century. Jeremiah, struggling to understand the meaning of individuality, has reached

very precise conclusions regarding the stupidity of idolatry:

> Idols are like scarecrows in a field,
> they cannot say a word;
> they have to be carried,
> for they cannot move a step.
> Have no fear of them; they cannot hurt you—
> no, nor help you!
> Stupid and senseless are they,
> one and all—
> What idols teach is wooden,
> like themselves!

For Ezekiel, idols have disintegrated into "loathsome and detestable impieties" that befoul man. All his eloquence is summoned to the task of abolishing idolatry in Israel. He depicts Yahweh as saying: "Any man of Israel who takes idols to his very heart is bent upon the sin that trips him up, and who consults a prophet, he shall get an answer from myself as heavy as all his idols. . . . I will set my face against that man, I will make an example of him, I will make him a byword and exterminate him from my people."

Monotheism was the faith of the one who wrote in such superior style against the pagan worship of his day:

> Their idols are mere gold and silver,
> made by the hands of men,
> with mouths—but they never speak,
> with eyes—but they never see,

with ears—but they cannot hear,
with noses—but they cannot smell,
with hands—but they cannot feel,
with feet—but they cannot walk!
No sound from them!
No breath of life is in them!
So be it with their makers,
with all who trust in them!

A Hebrew about the time of Jesus, author of the Wisdom of Solomon, proposed the erroneous theory that idolatry resulted from human grief over the death of loved ones, putting his argument in this way:

A father worn with untimely grief,
Making an image of the child quickly taken away,
Now honored him as god which was then a dead man,
And delivered to those that were under him mysteries and solemn rites.
Afterwards the ungodly custom was kept as a law
And by the commandments of princes the graven images received worship. . . .
They made a visible image of the king whom they honored
That by their zeal they might flatter the absent as if present. . . .
And the multitude, allured by reason of the grace of the handiwork of the artificer,
Now accounted as an object of devotion him
that a little time before
Was honored as a man.
And this became a hidden danger unto life,

Because men, in bondage either to calamity or to tyranny,
Invested stones and stocks with the incommunicable Name.

Thus prophet, priest, poet, Pharisee, and statute formed an entente to banish idolatry from Israel. And yet when Judas the Maccabee, in the second century before Christ, won a victory over the Syrians and returned to gather up the bodies of fallen Hebrews in order to bury them in the cemeteries of their ancestors, he found a consecrated image of the idols of Jamnia under the garments of each of the dead! Jewish soldiers fighting for orthodoxy and imageless worship with idols tucked away under their cloaks! In various cities of the Graeco-Roman world images adorn Jewish tombs. Superstitions succumb slowly.

The Jewish opposition to images repeatedly brought on trouble with Herod and with the Romans. Herod had erected a large costly golden eagle over the great gate of the temple in spite of the Jewish law forbidding the setting up of images or representations of any living creature. Some young men, urged on by the exhortation of their elders to win enduring fame through devotion to the law of their fathers, at midday pulled down the eagle, cut it in pieces with axes, and welcomed arrest by the king's captain. Brought before dying Herod, they boldly proclaimed their allegiance to Judaism. The principal men among the Jews approved their punishment, and Herod cremated two

scores of idealists. It was not the last time that young men true to the faith of their fathers were sacrificed by their compromising elders.

There was also a Jewish law against bringing images into the city of Jerusalem. Nevertheless the procurator Pilate sent into Jerusalem by night some images of Caesar called ensigns. Next morning the entire town was in tumult. From the villages about the capital city, country people came pouring in. Multitudes trudged to Caesarea to beseech Pilate to remove the images. For five long days and nights they lay prostrate. Pilate surrounded the praying group with soldiers and threatened them with death if opposition to the presence of the ensigns in Jerusalem continued. Forthwith the Jews offered their necks. Before such obstinacy and superstition, Pilate weakened and ordered the removal of the hated images.

Caius Caesar, nicknamed Caligula, was no respecter of history. He not only filled Rome with blood but was foolhardy enough to send Petronius to Jerusalem under orders to erect his statue in the temple even if war resulted from the attempt. The situation was so critical that Petronius delayed and Agrippa intervened. Finally, Caligula reversed himself by means of the celebrated message to Petronius, "If you have erected my statue, let it stand; if not, do not bother about it!"

At Tiberias in Palestine, Herod Antipas had erected a palace decorated with figures of living animals. It was

still standing in A.D. 66 when the Jewish war against Rome commenced. Various groups of Jews planned to demolish it. Honors went to some Galilean insurgents who set the entire palace on fire.

The Roman historian Tacitus was well informed concerning the Jewish hatred of images, for he relates that the "Jews acknowledge one God only and conceive of him by the mind alone, condemning as impious all who, with perishable materials, wrought into the human form representations of the Deity. That being, they say, is above all and everlasting, neither susceptible of likeness nor subject to decay. In consequence they allow no resemblance of him in their city, much less in their temple."

The later Hebrews regarded their collected written traditions as inspired by God, rules for faith and practice. Now their holy book prohibited the mentioning of the name of any other god. The names of other gods were not to pass their lips. Their carved images were to be cut down and their very name wiped from the spot. But in the older strata of their Bible they came upon numerous names of gods and idols. They solved their problem by substituting opprobrious terms for gods and idols in their reading of the scriptures. Sometimes they dared to go further and introduce contemptuous expressions into the sacred text itself. Derogatory labels included such words as "powerless," "made limb by limb," "dung gods," "loathsome." For

Baal of the earlier texts *bosheth*, "shame," was sometimes written. By means of the Greek translation of the Old Testament and the existence of parallel accounts of the same event, the alteration of the sacred text may sometimes be traced. The Greek translation of II Samuel 5:21 has "gods," and so does the corresponding passage in I Chronicles 14:12; but the Hebrew text of Samuel has transformed "gods" into "images." Another interesting illustration of the obliteration of scripture in the interest of a later point of view may be studied in I Kings 11:33 where the Hebrew text refers to Ashtoreth as the goddess of the Sidonians, Chemosh as the god of Moab, and Milcom as the god of Ammon. In each of these instances, the Greek translation of the Old Testament substitutes some idolatrous epithet.

To complete the conquest of idolatry, the Hebrews refused to look upon or think of images. Merit in the eyes of God could be gained by deriding idols. Contact with places formerly dedicated to idols necessitated the recitation of special expiatory prayers. To reduce an idol to powder and scatter its dust to the winds of heaven was proscribed lest it infect the soil. An idol was properly disposed of by sinking it in the Dead Sea. No gatherings could be convened in the vicinity of statues. Commercial dealings with Gentiles had to be avoided for three days prior to a pagan feast. Idolatry at last became one of three cardinal sins.

Finally, even mental images of God came under the ban, for no mental form could be given to one who inhabits eternity. Men must not think of God as like unto themselves. Idols must not be taken into the heart of man.

Was this Hebrew iconoclasm beneficial to the progress of spiritual religion? John Addington Symonds thought so, for he affirmed that "the spiritual purists of all ages—the Jews, the iconoclasts of Byzantium, Savonarola, and our Puritan ancestors—were justified in their mistrust of plastic art. The spirit of Christianity and the spirit of figurative art are opposed, not because such art is immoral, but because it cannot free itself from sensuous associations. It is always bringing us back to the dear life of earth, from which the faith would sever us. . . . When the worshiper would fain ascend on wings of ecstasy to God, the infinite, ineffable, unrealized, how can he endure the contact of these splendid forms, in which the lust of the eye and pride of life, professing to subserve devotion, remind him rudely of the goodliness of sensual existence? . . . Religion has its proper end in contemplation and conduct. Art aims at presenting sensuous embodiment of thoughts and feelings with a view to intellectual enjoyment. . . . There are many feelings which cannot properly assume sensuous form; and these are precisely religious feelings, in which the soul abandons sense, and leaves the actual world behind, to seek her freedom

in a spiritual region. . . . We have so completely exchanged mythology for curiosity and metaphor for science, that the necessary conditions for great art are wanting. Our deepest thoughts about the world and God are incapable of personification by any esthetic process; they never enter that atmosphere wherein alone they could become through fine art luminous. For the painter, who is the form giver, they have ceased to be shining stars, and are seen as opaque stones; and though divinity be in them, it is a deity that refuses the investiture of form."

CHAPTER X

The Christian Compromise on Images

> The images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God and of the other saints, are to be had and retained, particularly in temples, and due honor and veneration are to be given them.—Council of Trent.

Christianity originated within Judaism and inherited its polemic against images. Idolatry is mentioned in the so-called apostolic decree of Acts 15 as one of the three fundamental sins. Derision and doom are heaped upon idols and idolaters by primitive Christians.

In the course of the second century of the Christian era, the philosopher Celsus published his "True Word." The book proved to be a scathing attack upon Christianity. The cultured pagan bestowed some attention upon the current Christian attitude toward images. "The Christians cannot endure temples, altars, and images. In this the Scythians, the nomads of Syria, and all impious and lawless nations, are at one with them. So are the Persians, according to Herodotus. Heraclitus says that it is foolish to pray to images without recognizing what gods or heroes are. But Christians utterly despise images. If their reason be that stone or brass wrought by human hands is not a god, that is ridiculous wisdom. Who but an absolute idiot considers them as

gods, and not things dedicated to or statues of gods? If their reason be that they are not truly divine images, as the form of Deity is different, they unconsciously refute themselves when they say that God made man the image of himself. They regard statues as consecrated not to gods but to demons and hold that the worshiper of God ought not to serve demons. . . . If idols are nothing, where is the evil? If they are demons, manifestly they belong to God."

Early apologies for Christianity usually begin with a criticism of the foolishness of worshiping images. We cite but one illustration, the anonymous Epistle to Diognetus. The author points out that gods are fashioned from ordinary and perishable material by woodcarver, brass-pounder, silversmith, or potter. These gods may be turned into other vessels and furniture. They are dumb, blind, without souls or feeling or movement, rotting and decaying. The gods are mocked and insulted by idols. Think of locking up or placing a guard over gods of silver and gold that they may not be stolen! Any true god would desire spiritual worship, not worship with blood and burnt fat. Other Christian apologists refuse to countenance the contention of the worshipers of idols that they do not worship stone or senseless image, but the invisible divinity who presides over the image.

If Irenaeus may be trusted, Gnosticism introduced images into Christianity. Christian Gnosticism was a

formidable second-century movement whose aim was the separation of Christianity from its past by combining it with oriental mysticism. It transformed the historical Jesus into the savior of theosophy. It possessed images formed from different kinds of material. Some were painted. It palmed off an image of Jesus alleged to have been made by Pilate. It had images of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and other philosophers. It crowned its Christian images and included them in its pantheon. It engaged in the worship of them. Catholicism crushed Gnosticism but continued some of its customs.

The third century witnessed the multiplication of Christian images. Early in the fourth century a Christian synod was obliged to protest against the worship and adoration of pictures in Christian churches. At that time the Palestinian town called Caesarea Philippi contained a brazen image of a woman kneeling and beseeching the image of Jesus opposite her for help. Paintings of Christ, Peter, and Paul also existed. A pope of the sixth century interpreted images as "books of the unlearned"—a remark not designed to retard the manufacture of images. It was in A.D. 692 that a Christian council ordered the removal of the image of the ordinary lamb from icons and its replacement by an image of the lamb of God in human form. Six hundred and sixty-two years after the crucifixion of Jesus, the crucifix was authorized.

Eastern Christians began to select particular icons as god-parents to their children. Magic medicine was compounded from pulverized images and water. Images were regarded as the persons they represented. They possessed divine power which became available through contact. Images of Christ not made with hands were on exhibition. Pictures of Syrian stylites ran into many, many editions. The monks especially promoted image-worship. But Jew and Muslim mocked Christianity. In A.D. 723, the caliph Jezid II promulgated an edict against images in the Christian churches of his empire. Various eastern bishops and Christian parties were also inveighing against images. The Old Testament and the New Testament were cited in opposition to image-worship. About A.D. 725, the eastern emperor Leo III issued his first edict against images and thus became the first iconoclastic emperor. Images had to be removed from the churches. Every kind of image-worship was declared to be idolatry. Pope Gregory II was exhorted not only to demolish his own images but to summon a Christian council against their use. So Gregory put the emperor on his correspondence list. Gregory was a little mixed in his Old Testament history, for he tried to make Leo believe that David, long dead when the temple was erected, had placed the bronze serpent in it. Gregory was also in possession of some esoteric information, for he knew about images of Christ and the apostles, hailing from the first century

and scattered throughout the world. Had not Christ said, "Where the body is, there will the eagles be gathered together"? The eagles were religious men who came from all over the world to view the dead body of Christ! After they beheld it, they made pictures of it! There were authentic pictures of James, Stephen, and all the martyrs! As for the statue of Peter at Rome, western kingdoms esteemed it as a god on earth. It might pay the emperor to devote himself exclusively to worldly matters. Gregory then delivered Leo unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh and called upon Christ to send a demon into the emperor. Images were far superior to the "idle sermons, trivialities, music of pipe and zither, rattles and toys" with which Leo was wont to entertain church-goers. Would any Christian think of setting out upon a journey without taking images along? Were not popes accustomed to bring images to councils? Full responsibility for any sin connected with the worship of images, Gregory was quite willing to take upon himself.

The emperor Leo III now issued a second and more drastic edict against images. This settled matters in the East. But in A.D. 731 Pope Gregory III excommunicated all opponents of images. The emperor dispatched a fleet to Italy. It was wrecked in the Adriatic. Thereupon Leo separated lower Italy, Sicily, and Illyricum from the jurisdiction of the pope and assigned this territory to the patriarch of Constantinople. These stern

measures meant the union of the papacy and the Franks.

John of Damascus helped Catholicism to construct a philosophy for image-worship. Abusing some words of Basil the Great regarding Christ as image of God—"the honor paid to the image passes over to the prototype"—by removing them from their context and applying them to every kind of image in the flat, this advocate of image-worship pointed out that the Old Testament regulations against the production of images of the invisible God were no longer in force, because God had become visible during the incarnation. Did not Christ send an image of himself to Abgarus of Edessa? Men had seen God on earth, had gazed upon his crucifixion, had beheld him return to heaven. These events were recorded in the gospels, and some by reading them had obtained the blessing of God. But many could not read or could not find time for reading the gospels. Therefore, the fathers wisely approved of images as books for the ignorant. Moreover, not the image but that which is imaged is venerated.

In the course of the eighth century, several church councils gave attention to image-worship. The first is known as the Council of Constantinople and was convened A.D. 754. Over three hundred bishops were present, although Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Rome failed to send delegates. The vehement iconoclast, emperor Constantine V, and the army were its chief promoters. In its findings, images were identified

with idols. Both the Old Testament and the New Testament were quoted as opposed to images. Only in the holy eucharist could the divinity of Christ be represented. To fashion an image is blasphemy, to worship an image is idolatry. The Holy Trinity had disapproved of images by destroying three defenders of images. There were many bonfires as the churches were emptied of pictures of the saints. Relics were cast into the sea.

Constantine V died A.D. 775. Five years later Irene was acting as regent because of the youth of the male heir to the throne. She had kept icons secretly in her portion of the palace and now convened a synod to renew relations with Rome and undo the damage of the iconoclasts. Soldiers broke up the meeting. Yet the empress Irene was successful in calling the Second Council of Nicaea A.D. 787. The conference was told that Basil had honored and even kissed images of Christ and the saints because the holy apostles vouched for their authenticity! But the Epistle of Basil from which this information was obtained is at present regarded as spurious. Probably the prize for obscene stories should be awarded to the delegate who at this assembly related to the brethren the tale circulated by John of Damascus, the point of which was that perjury and wholesale licentiousness are far less heinous sins than refusal to worship images. The legality of icons was demonstrated from Exodus 25: 18-22, Numbers 7: 88 ff., Ezekiel

41: 18 f., and Hebrews 9: 5. An icon was set up in the place of meeting. The council decreed that images of Jesus Christ, "Lord, God, and Savior," Mary, "immaculate mother of God," the venerable angels, all saints, and all pious people, should be placed in the churches, in the houses, by the wayside. "For by so much the more frequently as they are seen in artistic representation, by so much the more readily are men lifted up to the memory of their prototypes, and to a longing after them; and to these should be given due salutation and honorable reverence, not indeed that true worship which pertains alone to the divine nature; but to these, as to the figure of the precious and life-giving cross, and to the book of the Gospels and to other holy objects, incense and lights may be offered. . . ." And this decree the Orthodox and other eastern churches, with the exception of the Nestorian Church, follow at the present time. Western Catholicism, not content with only pictures or images in the flat, later added solid statues to the list of approved images.

The pope had been represented at Nicaea, A.D. 787, but Charlemagne, the Frankish church, and the English church had been overlooked. Moreover, some one had sent Charlemagne an imperfect copy of the findings of the council in which the distinction between reverence of saints and true worship of God had not been retained. Hence, Charlemagne rejected the decrees of Nicaea and commissioned his theologians to

prepare a refutation. They attacked the problem with zeal, severely criticizing the council of Nicaea, condemning the worship of images, but not demanding the destruction of them. Charlemagne sent extracts of their conclusions to the pope and urged a papal condemnation of the canons of Nicaea. The refusal of the pope resulted in the convening of an ecumenical synod at Frankfort, A.D. 794. The conclusions of the Second Council of Nicaea were condemned, and the papal legates approved the action. In A.D. 825, some Frankish bishops met at Paris and drew up a document favorable to iconoclasm. Yet by the end of the century opposition to images had vanished from the Frankish church.

Thus by the tenth century medieval Christianity was committed to the support of image worship. The manufacture of images went on apace. Cathedrals were built containing from 2,000 to 4,000 statues and from 3,000 to 5,000 figures on stained glass. Some Protestant reformers knew of a monastery in which there was a statue of the blessed Virgin "which was moved within by a string as though it were an automaton, so as to seem either to refuse or to assent to those inquiring." Can the common man be expected to discriminate between reverence of images and true worship of God, when Thomas Aquinas is found declaring that "the image of Christ claims the same veneration as Christ himself"? When Bonaventura appeals to Mary in such words as these: "In thee, O Lady, have I put my trust;

let me not be confounded forever: in thy grace take me," one wonders whether hyperdulia has not been converted into latria. The Eastern Church has four chief festivals in honor of Mary, "the Most Holy Mother of God," and venerates her far above the cherubim and seraphim.

About A.D. 1530, some one wrote, "Even though we should imagine that the invocation of saints were taught with the greatest prudence, yet since the example is most dangerous, wherefore is it necessary to defend it when it has no command or testimony from God's Word? Ay, it has not even the testimony of the ancient writers. First because, as I have said above, when other mediators are sought in addition to Christ, and confidence is put in others, the entire knowledge of Christ is suppressed. The subject shows this. In the beginning, mention of the saints seems to have been admitted with a design that is endurable, as in the ancient prayers. Afterwards invocation followed, and abuses that are prodigious and more than heathen followed invocation. From invocation the next step was to images; these also were worshiped, and a virtue was supposed to exist in these, just as magicians imagine that a virtue exists in images of the heavenly bodies carved at a particular time."

The medieval church approved of image-worship. It was also teaching its members the ten commandments of God. One of those commandments contradicted

image-worship, for it contained an absolute prohibition both of the manufacture and of the worship of images of all kinds. Fortunately, one enumeration of the ten commandments combined the proscription of images with the worship of the one God and yet retained the full number of commandments by dividing the tenth commandment into a new ninth commandment and a new tenth commandment. Thus the second commandment could be excised from the decalogue without conveying the impression that the decalogue had been mutilated. For centuries the Christian church concealed the existence of the second commandment. The process of deletion began in the ninth century. For three hundred years prior to Calvin, the omission was universal. Probably the best evidence for the efficiency of the church in the suppression of the second commandment is supplied by Martin Luther. From 1516 onward, the Wittenberg reformer is giving special attention to the decalogue. On several occasions he popularizes it. He issues tracts containing the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed. Finally, in 1529, he publishes his Large Catechism and his Small Catechism with his famous expositions of the ten commandments. The Small Catechism became very popular and appeared in numerous editions. Yet the second commandment in all these instances is always conspicuous by its absence. The Book of Concord does not include the second commandment. Luther's enum-

eration of the ten commandments is that of the medieval church. Lutheranism to this day has a decalogue minus the proscription of the making and worshiping of images. The declaration, "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments," appears as an appendix after the exposition of the tenth commandment.

As late as 1548, Cranmer approved for use in England editions of the decalogue from which the second commandment was omitted.

Who rediscovered the second commandment? In 1536 John Calvin published his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," which became the arsenal of Protestant fundamentalism. In the eighth chapter of his second book, the Genevan dogmatist expounds the moral law. He is obliged to defend his new-old enumeration of the ten commandments and does it in these words: "That the law is divided into ten precepts, is beyond all controversy, being frequently established by the authority of God himself. The question, therefore, is not concerning the number of the precepts, but concerning the manner of dividing them. Those who divide them, so as to assign three precepts to the first table, and leave the remaining seven to the second, expunge from the number the precept concerning images,

or at least conceal it under the first; whereas it is undoubtedly delivered by the Lord as a distinct commandment. But the tenth, against coveting the property of our neighbor, they improperly divide into two." Calvin thereupon devotes over four pages to the interpretation of the second commandment, that is, to the proscription of the manufacture and worship of images.

By 1552, the full text of the second commandment was restored to the Anglican Catechism. The Heidelberg Catechism of 1563 also adopted the suggestion of Calvin. Three years later Roman Catholicism included the second commandment in the decalogue. Since then Roman Catholicism has authorized catechisms which omit and catechisms which print the second commandment. Deharbe's Large Catechism, which is authorized for the United States, presents the second commandment in this text: "I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not have strange gods before Me; thou shalt not make to thyself any graven *thing* nor the likeness of anything that is in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth. *Thou shalt not adore them nor serve them.*"

In 1563, the Council of Trent defined the Roman Catholic attitude toward the invocation, veneration, and relics of saints and toward sacred images. The invocation of saints was approved. "The holy bodies of holy martyrs, and of others now living with Christ . . . are to be venerated by the faithful; through which bodies

many benefits are bestowed by God on men." The images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints were ordered "retained particularly in temples. . . . Due honor and veneration are to be given them, because the honor which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent; in such wise that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ, and we venerate the saints, whose similitude they bear." The decree recognizes the risk of abuses regarding the careful discrimination necessary in these matters especially on the part of unlettered people and warns that "in the invocation of saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, every superstition shall be removed, all filthy lucre be abolished; finally, all lasciviousness be avoided; in such wise that figures shall not be painted or adorned with a beauty exciting to lust; nor the celebration of the saints and the visitation of relics be by any perverted into revelings and drunkenness; as if festivals were celebrated to the honor of the saints by luxury and wantonness."

Protestant iconoclasm destroyed many paintings and statues. Protestantism has remained poorer in religious art than Catholicism, but has avoided some of the "horrors of the crucifix."

CHAPTER XI

From Misuse to Suppression of the Divine Name

> And none of you must appear before me empty-handed.
>
> You shall not use the name of Yahweh, your God, profanely, for Yahweh will never acquit any one who uses his name profanely.
>
> Any one who names the name of Yahweh shall be put to death.

THE original significance of the third commandment is very much in doubt. Interpretations referring it to the trivial use of the divine Name, to the employment of the Name in sorcery, to pronouncing the Name at inopportune times or places lest the divinity be provoked, and to communicating the Name to the uninitiated, have their apologists.

Paton, observing that the traditional third commandment should be rendered, "Thou shalt not cry aloud the name of Yahweh thy God when thou bringest naught," discovered its ancestor in the commandment of Exodus 23 and 34 reading, "None of you must appear before me empty-handed." If this proposal may be accepted, the third commandment originated at a time when the head of the home was its priest. As the rites and ceremonies of religion gradually passed

from the father to the regular priesthood, the commandment was more and more referred to any misuse of the divine Name.

There were three acts in the regular worship of Yahweh; namely, the presentation of an offering, the use of the Name, and the bestowal of the blessing. The mere employment of the Name had to result in the conferment of the blessing. But such deception was a serious sin against Yahweh. To obtain benefits necessarily issuing from the use of the efficacious Name without the giving of the necessary gift was profanation of the Name. Pretense, showing off, getting something for nothing, hypocrisy, lack of inner reality, empty appearance, playing the rôle of a good man, were involved.

Elijah's method of procedure at the time of the contest on Mt. Carmel between him and the prophets of Baal well illustrates the underlying principles. "Then Elijah said to the people, 'I, I alone, am left as a prophet of Yahweh while Baal has four hundred and fifty prophets. Let us have a couple of bullocks; they can choose one bullock for themselves and chop it up; laying the pieces on the wood, but putting no fire underneath it; I will dress the other bullock and lay it on the wood, putting no fire beneath it. You call to your god. I will call to Yahweh, and the god who answers by fire, he is the real God.'"

Among the earlier Hebrews there were no scruples

against employing the name of Yahweh in ordinary discourse or in solemn affirmations. Many Hebrew worthies were named after Yahweh. Names like Jochebed, Jonathan, Jeroboam, Elijah, Obadiah, are illustrations. "God kill me and worse," "by the life of Yahweh," "as surely as Yahweh lives," "Yahweh be witness between thee and me," were customary oath formulas. Abraham swore to Abimelek to be well disposed toward his descendants. Isaac was wont to exchange oaths with his neighbors. Laban and Jacob with a cairn as witness swore not to attack each other. Jephthah made a vow to Yahweh which he kept at the cost of his only daughter's life. Boaz is represented as swearing by the life of Yahweh to be fair toward Ruth. Obadiah and Elijah swore by Yahweh to the truthfulness of their statements. Indeed, the Hebrew law demanded that a man clear himself of suspicion by "swearing before Yahweh."

The third commandment came to be associated with the misuse of the divine Name in solemn affirmations and with its careless colloquial employment. But the most romantic element in the story of the third commandment is that it led to the substitution of the word "Lord" for Yahweh and finally to the total suppression of the incommunicable Name.

According to one Hebrew tradition, Yahweh was the surname of the Hebrew god. It was his own proper name. No man had so named him. He had given this

name to himself. The name was a symbol or representative of Yahweh, a revelation to men of his otherwise unknown nature. "God also said to Moses, 'You must tell the Israelites that Yahweh, the God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent you to them; tell them,

> 'This is my name for all time,
> this is my title for all ages.' "

To the time of Ezra the third commandment was regarded as forbidding the use of this symbol of Yahweh in a vain and careless way. Now Ezra and his splendid helpers succeeded in making the written law of Moses authoritative for faith and practice. Hence the third commandment was gradually applied to the written as well as the spoken word, and its threat was held to signify that Yahweh would not acquit any one at the approaching world judgment who carelessly used the word "Yahweh." The failure to revere the glorious and awful name of Yahweh would be punished severely and with amazing plagues and sore and prolonged diseases. Henceforward, Judaism reverently avoided the employment of the various names of God. And it was especially reprehensible to pronounce irreverently the name of him who was peculiarly Israel's God.

This tendency to suppress the word Yahweh increased its momentum through environmental influences. The Hebrews were dividing into two groups,

those remaining in Palestine who now spoke Aramaic and those seeking fame and wealth abroad who spoke Greek. The Hebrew Bible was still in process of formation when the necessity of a translation arose. Now here was the divine name, Yahweh. Should it be translated or should it be transliterated? Even in the fourth century of the Christian era, there were Greek codices in which the letters of the name Yahweh occurred. But if the name Yahweh was not to be transliterated or translated, what divine name should be substituted for it? The problem was solved by giving Yahweh the name "Lord," just as the name Peter was given to Simon, Paul to Saul, and John to Mark. *Adonai, Mar, Kyrios, Dominus, Lord,* are the titles that helped efface the historical significance of the name Yahweh.

A passage in Numbers 6 directing the priests to invoke the name of Yahweh in blessing the people suggested the limitation of the Name to the ritual of worship, since Yahweh had promised to bless Israel wherever he *chose* to be remembered. But even in the temple the name of Yahweh ceased to be pronounced by the ordinary priest. Finally, only the high-priest on the Day of Atonement mentioned Yahweh's name, at first audibly, later under his breath.

Israel's thorough-going conversion to monotheism also promoted the suppression of the name of its own god. Yahwism is an anachronism where monotheism is

a dogma. One cannot preach monotheism and call the universal God Yahweh. As Zeus and Isis and Cybele imply polytheism, so Yahweh only too clearly proclaims the tribal god. Monotheism permits the accumulation of descriptive epithets and attributes but not the citation of divine surnames. Under monotheism the names of ethnic gods vanish.

Again, during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, Judaism was being internationalized in spite of Maccabean particularism. It not only engaged in international trade but developed considerable missionary enthusiasm. But as Judaism transmitted its monotheism to the Graeco-Roman civilization, it learned how to omit the name of Yahweh from the passages in the Old Testament where it occurred.

And the God of the Hebrews no longer dwelt on Sinai or in Palestine. The universe had become his throne. Eternity was inhabited by him. No one had ever seen him. No one would ever see him. He was the high and exalted One, so distant from frail man that intermediate beings were being fashioned to mediate between God and man. Whereas the earlier prophets spoke to God, or received communications from him directly, the latest of the prophets spoke with angels about the plans of God. One now spoke before Yahweh not to him. Descriptive terms like "heaven," "Most High," "light," "truth," "Merciful One," displaced the divine names. The surname Yahweh became so

mysterious and holy that it must never be pronounced. If the copyist of the sacred text made an error in writing the name of Yahweh, the entire roll had to be destroyed. Erasures of the letters of the Name were not tolerated. The end of the line must cause no separation of the letters composing Yahweh. Finally, the anathema was placed upon any use of the divine names.

When, in A.D. 70, Rome destroyed Jerusalem and its temple, the name of Yahweh ceased to be spoken at all. The proper form of the Name was handed down secretly. It was not lawful for any Jew to say more about the holy Name than that God had first declared it to Moses. Early in the second century of the Christian era the last traces of its correct pronunciation fade away.

But the Name, completely suppressed as far as its legitimate use was concerned, entered the realm of magic. An Egyptian papyrus has a Jewish text announcing an approved charm for banishing demons. Many divine names are invoked, among them "Joel," "Joe," "Jaeo." And one line reads, "I adjure thee by the god of the Hebrews, Jaha, Jae, Joel, Jao, Ja." Both the Samaritans and a Christian sect pronounced the Name "Jabe." The Samaritans also regarded the pronunciation of the divine Name as a bit of magic by which one's enemy might be injured.

The name of Yahweh began to be suppressed about the third century before Christ. This is discernible from

a comparison of the usage of the divine Name in earlier and later Old Testament books. Chronicles again and again substitutes God for the Yahweh of its sources. Esther fails to mention any name of God. Ecclesiastes has no instance of Yahweh. The Song of Solomon has Yah once. Daniel prevailingly uses God. Psalms 42-87 read Lord twenty-nine times; the rest of the Psalter contains Lord twenty-five times. But the earlier books of the Old Testament frequently employ the name of Yahweh. By the beginning of the Christian era the tradition was well established that the name of Yahweh had never been in general use and for a long time had not been pronounced.

It is the twentieth century. Hundreds of modern scholars have sought to discover the true origin, meaning, and correct pronunciation of the name of the god of the Hebrews. But mystery continues. There is general agreement that four consonants—y, h, w, h—compose the Name. Whether the consonants should be pronounced "Yahweh," "Yahwoh," or "Yahwah," is not a settled matter.

The uncertainty connected with the name of the Hebrew god appears in the various English translations of the Bible. The Authorized Version sidestepped the difficulty by rendering "Yahweh" as "Lord." The Revised Version hoped to improve matters by the use of "Jehovah." But "Jehovah" is not a real word, for it consists of the consonants composing the name of the

Hebrew god plus the vowels of the Hebrew word for Lord. It is an impossible hybrid unknown to the world until the era of the Reformation. French scholars, Matthew Arnold, and Moffatt render "Yahweh" by "Eternal." This is admittedly "a distinct loss," since it "drops the racial, archaic term" and we "miss something of what it meant for the Hebrew nation."

Those who composed the third commandment had no intention of transmitting an enigma to the modern world. But they did.

CHAPTER XII

Christianity and Solemn Affirmations

> An oath is the calling of God to give his testimony concerning the matters which are in doubt; and it is a most impious thing to invoke God to be a witness to a lie.
>
> —PHILO.

> As ever in my great Taskmaster's eye.—MILTON.

> Truth crushed to earth shall rise again.—BRYANT.

THE oath was originally a conditional cursing of self. The very words uttered were assumed to have magical power. The swearing became more effective through appeal to some sacred object or person. God could be invoked in various ways, to help, to serve as witness, or to decide the matter in doubt.

In late Judaism the third commandment was associated with solemn affirmations. The giving of oaths was frowned upon as raising a suspicion that one was not trustworthy. The Essenes, a Jewish communistic group, regarded him "who could not be believed without swearing by God as already condemned." They esteemed swearing worse than perjury and gained a great reputation for general fidelity and truthfulness. Philo, a liberal Alexandrian Jew, was convinced that one should not swear at all and should certainly keep his oath.

The New Testament may be quoted both as in favor of and as opposed to oaths.

It would be difficult to cite more drastic criticism of swearing than is met with in the Gospel according to Matthew and the Epistle of James. Jesus very solemnly declared: "You have heard how the men of old were told, 'You must not forswear yourself but discharge your vows to the Lord.' But I tell you, you must not swear any oath, neither by heaven, for it is the throne of God; nor by earth, for it is the footstool of his feet; nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great king; nor shall you swear by your head, for you cannot make a single hair white or black. Let what you say be simply 'yes' or 'no'; whatever exceeds that springs from evil."

On the other hand, Jesus during his examination before the Jewish high priest broke his silence when adjured, "By the living God, tell us if you are the Christ the Son of God." Accepting the oath he replied, "Even so." Wherefore Caiaphas accused Jesus of blasphemy, and all agreed that he was doomed to death.

Paul repeatedly called God to witness against this soul and swore before God. He was just as ready to call down the anathema upon his opponents. He advised the Corinthians solemnly to consign a certain individual to Satan. The apostle to the Gentiles was not at all averse to solemn affirmations.

Other primitive Christians approved of solemn oaths. The preacher of that early Christian sermon which goes under the title of the Epistle to the Hebrews told his hearers: "In making a promise to Abraham God swore by himself (since he could swear by none greater), 'I will indeed bless you and multiply you.' Thus it was that Abraham by his steadfastness obtained what God had promised. For as men swear by a greater than themselves, and as an oath means to them a guarantee that ends dispute, God, in his desire to afford the heirs of the Promise a special proof of the solid character of his purpose, interposed with an oath." The apocalyptist who wrote the Revelation of John let the angel standing on the sea and the earth "raise his right hand to heaven and swear" by the creator of heaven and earth.

This division of opinion regarding solemn affirmations so evident in the New Testament is also characteristic of the entire history of Christianity.

Augustine disliked oaths because of the danger of perjury. Chrysostom denounced oaths as snares of Satan. The Waldenses, Hussites, Anabaptists, Mennonites, Friends, Moravians, and other minor Christian groups offered strong opposition to and arguments against swearing. The Friends pointed out that the addition of an oath on any particular occasion weakens simple affirmations upon all occasions. They also in-

sisted that all false witness should be penalized as heavily as sworn false witness.

Modern authorities on Christian ethics tend to agree in principle with these Christian minorities. While recognizing that the ceremony connected with the giving of an oath and the penalty accompanying perjury are efficacious in case of many persons, they wonder whether the great frequency of oaths and the almost universal carelessness in administering them do not render them pernicious and whether solemn lying should not be punished as vigorously as perjury. There seems to be no defense for compulsory oaths, since they imply ethical astigmatism. Oaths involving known contradictions cannot be justified. The fundamental ethical question is whether oaths depreciate ordinary speech. If the oath guarantees the truth, does it not also discount ordinary statements? And is it not better to be invariably truthful than to be truthful only occasionally? Moreover, it is possible to tell the truth without being truthful. Truth for its own sake is of higher quality than truth pinched out through fear of penalty. Groups insisting upon continuous truthfulness acquire unusual reputations for fidelity.

Christianity in general has treated solemn oaths for the promotion of truth, justice, and religion as lawful. But no oath was considered valid unless taken with clear understanding of the issues involved and for legitimate

ends and without reservations. One might not swear to hate or to break a solemn promise. The church required ordination vows, judicial oaths, and oaths of fealty and of office. In the fourth century Christians took a military oath involving the trinity and the emperor.

The medieval ordeal was an appeal to the judgment of God. It did not originate within Christianity but was inherited from Germanic folkways. It was an admission that ordinary courts had failed to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused. It is a sad commentary upon medieval Christianity, for the entire procedure is replete with adjuration, exorcism, and solemn affirmation. This concrete oath might be taken on the cross, on the sacrament, on hot water or cold water, on hot iron, on bread and cheese, or on a holy book. In every instance, it supplies abundant evidence that the medieval church was not governed by Jewish scruples regarding the misuse of the name of God.

It is a bright morning in September. The medieval Christian church has been asked to determine through the ordeal by cold water the guilt or innocence of some men accused of theft. The accused and the officiating priest have been fasting. They now enter the church. They participate in the ritual of the mass. They are adjured by the trinity, by their Christianity, by the gospel, and by the relics kept in the church not to approach the altar or take communion if they have committed or consented to the crime charged against them

or know the guilty person. Since they do not confess the crime, the priest gives them the communion, saying, "May this body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be today a trial of your guilt or innocence."

They now leave for the place of ordeal. The priest gives the accused some holy water to drink, and it becomes a trial of their guilt or innocence. Each is adjured by the Lord Jesus Christ, the ordeal of cold water, the trinity, all the angels and archangels, the dreadful day of judgment, the four evangelists, the twelve apostles, the twelve prophets, all the saints of God, the principalities and powers, dominions and virtues, the thrones of the cherubim and seraphim, Meshach, Shadrach, and Abednego, by the 144,000 martyrs, by the baptism in which the priest gave them new birth, that if guilty the water may not receive him. Then the water is adjured in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to cause the guilty man to float. Each naked man kisses the holy gospel and the cross of Christ. Each is sprinkled with holy water. Each is cast into the water. If for some reason one of the accused should not sink, he would be adjudged guilty of the alleged theft. This ceremony of medieval Christianity was unadulterated magic and a flagrant misuse and profanation of divine names.

They did much solemn swearing in the medieval period and in various ways. Some of the exceptional formulas were "by this and this," "by the splendor

of God," "by God's legs," "by God's teeth," and "by the death of God."

The reformers insisted that all references to God, his word, and his works must be reverent. They objected to the employment of the name of God in necromancy, horrible imprecations, and impious incantations. While approving of the necessary use of the name of God in oaths for religious or charitable reasons, they regarded unnecessary swearing as rendering the divine Name vile and contemptible. The substitution of the name of king, emperor, or magistrate in oaths, John Calvin regarded as impiety. He likewise refused to apply the third commandment to civil duties.

The Church of England concluded that whereas "vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his apostle . . . Christian religion doth not prohibit swearing, but a man may swear when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth." From 1534 on, the Government of England passed many test oaths, and it was August 3, 1910, ere the last anti-Catholic oath was declared removed from the English constitution. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the election of Charles Bradlaugh, avowed atheist, to Parliament raised the question whether the regular oath of office should be imposed upon an "infidel." The majority in Parliament repeat-

edly declared him disqualified for taking the oath of office or giving a simple affirmation. Just as repeatedly his district returned him to Parliament, until the newly elected Parliament of 1885 allowed his seating upon a simple affirmation and expunged the earlier negative actions from the records. The English "Oath Act" of 1888 recognized the right of individuals to object to the ordinary form of oath, invoking God as witness, on the grounds that they had no religious beliefs or religious beliefs not in harmony with oath-giving and -taking and to substitute therefor a solemn affirmation.

Formerly Christians took the oath with hand on gospel or altar or by kissing the New Testament. Today they may choose Authorized Version, Revised Version, Moffatt, Douai or other translation. Jews with heads covered are sworn on the Pentateuch and Mohammedans on the Koran. The Chinese swear on bended knee while breaking a saucer into fragments. Buddhists swear on Buddhist doctrines, Hindus on the Vedas or touching the Brahmin's foot, the Parsees on the Zend Avesta, and the Sikhs on the Granth.

CHAPTER XIII

From Feast Day to Blue Laws and Sabbath Joy

> Your gatherings at the new moon and on sabbath, I cannot abide them.
>
> Remember you were once slaves in the land of Egypt and that Yahweh your God brought you out by sheer strength and main force. Hence Yahweh your God has ordered you to keep the sabbath.
>
> You must light no fire in any house upon the sabbath day.
>
> Call the sabbath a delight.

How did the seventh-day sabbath originate?

A Jew-baiter of the first century of the Christian era traced its origin to an affliction which befell the Hebrews while fleeing from Egypt. When they had marched six days they had bubos in their groins. Hence they rested upon the seventh day. But since their malady was called *sabbatosis* in the Egyptian language, that seventh day of rest was called sabbath!

Another theory assigns the origin of the seventh-day sabbath to the miracle of the manna. After crossing the Red Sea, Israel came to the desert of Sin. There was lack of meat and bread. The Hebrews complained. Yahweh intervened and sent quails at twilight

and manna at dawn. They gathered each day's food each day. What was not consumed supernaturally disappeared. The sixth day came. They gathered as usual. But they soon discovered that they actually had in their possession twice the usual amount. Very much agitated, the perplexed Hebrews turned to Moses for an explanation. He informed them that this left-over manna of Friday would not decay and breed worms. Yahweh was trying to teach them in this way that the seventh day was to be a rest day—a sabbath sacred to Yahweh. Because "every sixth day they found that when they cooked what they had gathered, it was twice as much as usual," the Hebrews kept the seventh day as sabbath!

A third theory traces the origin of the seventh-day sabbath to information based upon the only two places in the entire Old Testament where specific labor upon the seventh day is forbidden. These two prohibitions are found in Exodus 35 and Numbers 15 and read, "Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations on the seventh day; a man gathering sticks on the sabbath day was stoned to death." Both statements refer to fire. Now the Kenites who dwelt at Sinai and with whom Moses had entered into friendly relations were blacksmiths. The blacksmith's fire is his *sine qua non.* If a blacksmith does not kindle a fire, he is taking a day off. Saturn was the dark planet. His day the Kenite blacksmith regarded as holy. According to this theory,

then, the Israelites simply discovered the Kenites celebrating the seventh day—Saturn's day—as sabbath and borrowed the custom from them. To support this hypothesis an obscure verse in Amos 5 is quoted: "Yea, you carried about your king Sakkut and Kaiwan (Saturn), your star-god, idols you have manufactured."

These solutions of the seventh-day sabbath problem impress most students as too simple and too inadequate.

Moreover, while the Babylonians had a monthly festival, a "day of the rest of the heart," called sabattum, they did not observe a seventh-day sabbath.

The Old Testament contains four commands to keep periods of rest. In Exodus 23, a seventh year of rest is enjoined during which the ground must lie fallow and the vineyards and olive yards remain unworked, but the poor people and wild animals may come and pick up what is found. A seventh day of rest is also arranged for; yet it is not called a sabbath, and its purpose is economic and social. Exodus 34 provides for cessation of labor on the seventh day, even at plowing time and harvest, but this seventh day is not called sabbath. In Deuteronomy 5 and Exodus 20 a seventh day of rest is prescribed. In Deuteronomy 5 the motive is social and economic; in Exodus 20 the motive is religious. Only in these two passages in the Hebrew literature antedating the sixth century before Christ is sab-

bath identified with seventh day. Here for the first time a seventh-day sabbath is prescribed.

There are many divergences in these four Old Testament passages concerned with a weekly rest day. But they all assume that the Hebrews have attained the agricultural level of culture and are dwelling in Canaan.

At first, then, the Hebrews did not identify seventh day and sabbath. At Jericho Israel marched around the town seven times on the seventh day instead of observing it as sabbath. It was customary to make considerable journeys on the seventh day to consult men of God. In the ninth century, the temple guard was changed on the seventh day. In the Hebrew legislation of B.C. 621, a weekly rest day is not mentioned. Just as a later time found fault with the high-place worship in which orthodox Samuel participated, so Ezekiel rebuked previous generations for not keeping a weekly sabbath of which they knew naught. Even in Nehemiah's day orthodox Jews worked on fifty-two consecutive days to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem. The seventh-day sabbath seems to have been unknown to the ancient Hebrews.

The earliest Hebrew sabbath is associated with revelry, feasting, and moon festivals. Eighth-century prophets protest against moon feasts and sabbaths in the same couplets. Amos joins sabbath not with the seventh day, but with the feast in honor of the new

moon. Hosea characterizes the sabbath as a time of gayety and links it with the lunar feast. Ezekiel, in the sixth century before Christ, still associates sabbath and new moon. Isaiah's protest is a classic:

> Crowd my courts no more,
> bring offerings no more;
> I loathe them;
> Your gatherings at the new moon and on sabbath,
> I cannot abide them.
> Your fasts and festivals,
> my soul abhors them.

Although the sabbath is thus associated with the new-moon festival, it is also discriminated from it. Some idea of propitiation is originally connected with it. The moon meant much to the Semitic nomads. The full moon was glorious for wandering. The Passover was located near the full moon. In Samuel's day there was a new-moon religious festival.

But this close union between the sabbath and astral religion became more and more objectionable. "Beware of looking up to the sky and then, as you see the whole host of heaven, the sun and moon and stars, letting yourselves be allured to bend in worship of them." Yahwism could not tolerate the worship of the planets. In the seventh century before Christ the priests that burned incense to the stars were put down.

So the sabbath was separated from the lunar festivals. Thereby its character was altered. It became a

seventh-day matter. It meant complete cessation from labor. It became reminiscent of the deliverance from Egypt. But its modifications did not stop there. The theological reason displaced the social-economic reason. The seventh-day sabbath was now to be celebrated because Yahweh made sky and earth and sea and all that they contain in six days. On the seventh day he rested. Therefore Israel must keep the seventh-day sabbath as a sacred day. The theological zenith was reached when a writer said: "The Israelites must keep the sabbath, holding it age after age by a lasting compact; it is a token between me and the Israelites for *all time* since in six days Yahweh made sky and earth and *then rested, to refresh himself upon the seventh day.*"

During the exile in Babylonia when some feasts depending upon the temple could not be observed, the celebration of the seventh-day sabbath assumed a new importance. Thenceforward, it was more scrupulously kept. It became in a completer sense a rest day. Fires must not be lighted on it or business be engaged in. Transgressors of sabbath laws must be put to death. The return to Palestine witnessed an increase in its rigid observance. Sabbath laws began to be enforced. Nehemiah closed the gates of Jerusalem just before the sabbath began and kept them closed until the sabbath was over in order that no gain-seeking Hebrew might

bring in a load of truck and engage in trading. Even hawkers before the city gate were silenced.

Several centuries later the Jewish sabbath law was part and parcel of the *mores*. People feared to transgress its meticulous restrictions. Although the Maccabees were engaged in a life and death struggle against the Syrians, they at first observed the sabbath law in spite of impending battle. But heavy losses resulting from non-resistance upon the sabbath day taught them to reverse their decision. The Maccabees began to fight on the sabbath lest Israel be annihilated.

About this time Hebrew blue laws were in vogue. Trumpet blasts announced the beginning and the end of the sabbath. Between those blasts the chief orders of angels, the Lord, and Israel were observing the sabbath. "And whosoever profanes it shall surely die, and whoever does thereon any work shall surely die eternally!" Food must not be prepared on the sabbath day. Water must not be drawn. No burden might be carried. No verbal agreements for future sales of realty or chattels could legally be entered into. There must be abstention from military service. Fasting, mourning, weddings, fires, loud noises, and clapping of hands were forbidden. Lamps must be lighted before twilight of Friday. The sabbath journey was limited to 2000 ells.

When all the amendments to the Jewish sabbath law had been adopted, 1521 possible infractions were recognized. The rabbis argued for that many because

Moses had said, "These are the words." Now the arithmetical sum of the Hebrew letters composing the word "these" is thirty-six, and the value of "the words" was figured at three. Since thirty-six plus three are thirty-nine, there must be thirty-nine classes of forbidden work. They were sowing, plowing, reaping, gathering into sheaves, thrashing, winnowing, cleansing, grinding, sifting, kneading, baking, shearing of wool, bleaching of wool, beating of wool, dyeing of wool, spinning, making a warp, making two thrum threads, weaving two threads, splitting two threads, tying, untying, sewing two stitches, tearing in order to sew two stitches, hunting deer, slaughtering it, skinning it, salting its hide, tanning it, scraping off the hair, cutting up the hide, writing two letters, erasing for the purpose of writing two letters, building, tearing down, extinguishing a fire, kindling a fire, beating a hammer, carrying an article from one premise to another.

But these thirty-nine prohibitions overlooked too many possibilities of transgressing the sabbath commandment. Hence the rabbis resorted to multiplication; $39 \times 39 = 1521$! The imagination was drawn upon for microscopic distinctions. A camel driver's or a boatman's knot might not be tied on the sabbath, but a one-handed knot was allowed. One might journey more than two thousand cubits on the sabbath if food for two meals had previously been deposited at the boundary. False teeth had to be removed on Friday. The

priest was forbidden to press blood out of a wound on the sabbath. A woman must not wear false hair on the street that day. No rock or earth must be lifted up in the dwelling of a law-abiding Hebrew on the seventh day. A person who fell into a pit or place of water on the sabbath had to exercise his patience until the first day of the week. Wadding that fell out of the ear on that day had to be left out. One might swallow vinegar on the sabbath, for in this case it was food. To rinse the mouth with vinegar in order to banish a toothache was proscribed, for in this case it was medicine. While a strain might be washed as usual, to dash cold water upon it was regarded as an attempt to heal it and was consequently forbidden. The pen of the scribe and the needle of the tailor had to be laid aside hours before the sabbath began. Eggs laid on the sabbath were not to be eaten. The coat must not be dried beside the fire. Through this emphasis upon minutiae, intellectualism and externalism were nurtured.

Notwithstanding all these restrictions upon freedom, the Jewish sabbath was and is a day of joy and gladness. It was and is associated with feasts, not with fasts. The orthodox Jewish heroine Judith observed the prescribed fasts scrupulously, but on the eve of the sabbath and upon the sabbath she refrained from fasting. Three meals of choice food are suggested for the sabbath. Two loaves of bread are placed upon the table. Finer garments than customary are worn. A special tablecloth

and special dishes enhance the festive character of the day. Gloom and sorrow are to be overcome and burdens forgotten on the sabbath. When visiting the sick on the seventh day, one does not dare to console. Lamentation and supplication for relief are not in good form. The sabbath is to be a day of delight.

In the ritual of sabbath day, references to sad events are lacking, unless prayer for the dead or the general prayer for Jewish martyrs of all times may be so regarded. From the shouting of special psalms at the evening Friday service to the reading of the law at the sabbath morning service and the benediction of the sabbath afternoon service, the dominant emphasis in worship is joy. One cannot attend a Jewish sabbath service without being impressed with the spirit of gladness that prevails. "As rest is sweet to the weary, and the cooling stream to him that is athirst, so are thy sabbaths to us and the fountain that springs up in thy house. As the hart desireth the water-brooks, so may our soul thirst after thee, and our hearts and our flesh rejoice in the living God. . . . We give thanks to thee for this beautiful sabbath evening which again finds us gathered in our paternal house. We beseech of thee that we may reap the full benefit of this blessed day. Give us rest from all undue cares and wearying burdens, that we may, with joyfulness of heart, with peace and refreshment of mind, spend its hours in loving communion with each other and with thee. May our inward

strength be renewed and our hearts be made pure to receive the light of thine eternal wisdom, thy perfect holiness and unchanging love. And grant, our God! that we may find, not only on our day of rest, but in all our labor and conflict and in every experience of our life, the peace which thou alone canst give, the repose of faith and trust in thee."

CHAPTER XIV

From Lord's Day to Christian and Jewish Sabbath

The sabbath was made for man and not man for the sabbath.

So let no one take you to task on questions of eating and drinking or in connection with the observance of festivals or new moons or sabbaths.—BIBLE.

No corporation, company, or association operating any railroad in this State, shall run any train on any road operated by it within this State, between sunrise and sunset on Sunday, except from necessity or mercy.
—CONNECTICUT STATUTE, 1887.

JUDAISM at the beginning of the Christian era was zealously observing its oral and written sabbath statutes. How did Jesus of Nazareth keep the fourth commandment? Jesus defended his disciples against the charge of violating the sabbath law when they entered the grain fields, plucked, threshed, and ate the grain. He healed on the sabbath—the demoniac in the synagogue, Simon's mother-in-law, the man with the withered hand, the woman "with a spirit of infirmity for eighteen years bent double and paralyzed," the man with dropsy, the man sick thirty-eight years, who thereupon

violated sabbath regulations by carrying his mat. Judaism recognized the propriety of healing on the sabbath when there was immediate danger of death. But the deeds of Jesus cannot be regarded as works of necessity. The sabbath ended at evening. Each of these cures could have been postponed a few hours without endangering life. From the demoniac to the man sick thirty-eight years, not one was in imminent danger of death. The activity of Jesus was both a violation and a criticism of Jewish enactments regarding the sabbath. And Jesus did not stop there. He went on to accuse the Jews of hypocrisy in the keeping of the sabbath. Exodus had made the sabbath a commemoration of the rest of God. Jesus asserted that God has not been resting since the creation. The Father has been at work continuously. Moreover, the sabbath was instituted for man's good. Humanitarianism is of greater value than sacred institutions. The oral tradition that had accumulated around the observance of the sabbath, Jesus rudely brushed aside. The laws regarding the sabbath were menaced in the acts and attitude of Jesus. He was a popular leader. All were looking on. His style of apology made transgression of the sabbath law plausible. Suppose every hungry person should violate the law? What if nobody prepared the meals for the sabbath on Friday? An early Christian tradition lets Jesus meet a man working on the sabbath and say unto him, "If thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed!

But if thou dost not know, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law."

Prominent early disciples of Jesus take the same liberal point of view. The radical Stephen rejected the theory of holy places when he quoted, "Heaven is my throne, the earth is a footstool for my feet! What house would you build me? saith the Lord, on what spot could I settle? Did not my hand make all this?" Peter was told in a vision that there were no holy foods. The gospel according to John represents the controversy between Jesus and the Jews as resulting from Jesus' making clay on the sabbath and opening the eyes of a blind man.

But it is Paul who has very advanced ideas regarding the observance of days. In Galatians, Colossians, and Romans he offered his protest. "In those days when you [Galatians] were ignorant of God, you were in servitude to gods who are really no gods at all; but now that you know God, how is it you are turning back again to the weakness and poverty of the elemental spirits? Why do you want to be enslaved all over again by them? You observe days and months and festal seasons and years! Why, you make me afraid I may have spent my labor on you for nothing. . . . So let no one take you to task, O Colossians, on questions of eating and drinking or in connection with the observance of festivals or new moons or sabbaths. All that is the mere shadow of what is to be! . . . Then again, this

man rates one day above another, while that man rates all days alike. Well, every one must be convinced in his own mind."

In the New Testament the sabbath is never identified with the first day of the week. There is no confusion between sabbath and the Lord's day. Sabbath signifies the seventh day or a seven-day period, namely, the week, but never the first day! Throughout the description of the missionary journeys of Paul, the Jews are represented as meeting on the sabbath day while the Christians meet upon the first day of the week. *The New Testament regards the eternal rest after death as the analogue under the new covenant of the sabbath under the old covenant.*

Moreover, the New Testament contains no enactments regarding the keeping of the first day of the week. And for centuries there was no penalty upon the non-observance of the first day. Legalism crept into the Christian church at a much later date. The Lord's day is mentioned as a day of common worship and as commemorating the resurrection of Christ.

Within half a century after the crucifixion of Jesus, Christianity had divided into two groups: conservative Jewish Christianity and liberal Gentile Christianity. Jewish Christians continued to observe the sabbath, but Gentile Christians kept the Lord's day. Subsequently to the Jewish wars with the Roman empire in A.D. 70 and 135—wars that deprived Judaism of a homeland

for almost eighteen centuries—the observance of the seventh day became the special label of Judaism. All non-Jews were on their guard against being accused of intimacy with Judaism because of "sabbatizing." Had Gentile Christians been observing the seventh-day sabbath at that time, it is difficult to understand how they could have escaped classification as Jews. Surely after the year 70, Gentile Christians could not assume the risk of being charged with "sabbatizing."

From the numerous early Christian statements discriminating between sabbath and first day of the week, the following, for lack of space, must suffice. Ignatius: "If then they who walked in ancient customs came to a new hope, no longer living for the sabbath but for the Lord's day, on which also our life sprang up through him and his death." The Epistle of Barnabas: "Wherefore we also celebrate with gladness the eighth day, in which Jesus also rose from the dead and was made manifest and ascended to heaven." The Didache: "On the Lord's day of the Lord come together, break bread and hold eucharist." Justin the Martyr: "For if there was no need of the observance of sabbaths . . . before Moses, no more need is there of them now . . . righteous men who kept no sabbaths were pleasing to God. . . . Sunday is the day on which we hold our common assembly because it is the first day, on which God made the world; and Jesus Christ our Savior on the same day rose from the dead." The very orthodox

Tertullian: "We have nothing to do with sabbaths or other Jewish festivals, much less with those of the heathen. We have our own solemnities, the Lord's day and Pentecost." Chrysostom asks, "If you keep the sabbath, why not also be circumcised; and if circumcised, why not also offer sacrifices?" The synod of Laodicea: "Christians shall not judaize and be idle on Saturday but shall work on that day: but the Lord's day they shall especially honor, and as being Christians shall if possible do no work on that day. If, however, they are found judaizing, they shall be shut out from Christ."

For about five centuries the Lord's day was not identified with the sabbath. During the sixth century it began to be affirmed occasionally that the glory of the Jewish sabbath had been transferred to Sunday. On the continent Sunday was called sabbath for the first time in the eighth century. In England Sunday was not called sabbath until a much later period. "Christian Sabbath" appears in the Large Catechism of Martin Luther, published in 1529, although the German Reformer was far removed from Puritanism.

In the quotation from Justin Martyr, mid-second century, the word "Sunday" was employed of the first day of the week. A word of explanation seems necessary because of the misrepresentation and abuse heaped upon this natural title for the Lord's day in the course of the sabbatarian controversy. The first day of the

week is called Lord's day in the Johannine apocalypse. Fifty years later the Lord's day was sometimes being given the ordinary Roman name of Sunday. Then the designation Sunday again gave way to Lord's day in both Greek and Latin. Even in civil legislation, "Lord's day" appeared in A.D. 386 and thereafter. The Romans counted days by calends, ides, and nones, but they also gave the successive days names. It is a curious thing that the existence of a seven-day cycle did not at a much earlier date suggest to them calculating time by weeks. The week is older than the *names* of the days of the week. Those *names* came by way of astrology. The seven planets considered were the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Each planet in succession ruled one hour. The day was named after the planet which ruled during the first hour of that day. The day consisted of twenty-four hours. Saturn, because most remote from the earth, was given the honor of ruling during the first hour. The moon ruled during the second hour. Mercury ruled during the third hour. Venus ruled during the fourth hour. The sun ruled during the fifth hour, and so on. Hence, the sun ruled during the first hour of the second day, whence Sunday. The moon ruled during the first hour of the third day, whence Monday. In like manner, Mars began the fourth day, Mercury began the fifth day, Jupiter began the sixth day, and Venus began the seventh day. In this way the names of the days be-

came Saturn's day, Sunday, Moonday, Mars' day, Mercury's day, Jupiter's day, and Venus' day. When the names of the planets were identified with the names of the gods of the invaders of the Roman empire, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday resulted. Now the seventh day of Judaism corresponded to Saturn's day. Therefore the first day of the week corresponded to Sunday. Moreover, light was created on the first day of the world's history. The light of the world arose from the dead on the first day. Christ was also called sun of righteousness. What, then, was more simple and natural than the identification of Lord's day and Sunday? Because Christianity celebrated the Lord's day on Sunday, it was accused of sun-worship, but Tertullian offered this apology: "If we devote Sunday to rejoicing for a far different reason than sun-worship, we have some resemblance to those of you who devote the day of Saturn to ease and luxury, though they too go far away from Jewish ways of which they are ignorant."

Rest from manual labor was to some extent associated with the Lord's day from the beginning. About the third century Christians were being exhorted not even to kneel or take any posture of solicitude on the Lord's day and also to defer their business. Before Constantine recognized Christianity, a church council made observance of the Lord's day compulsory. The first Sunday law was proclaimed by Constantine over

sixteen centuries ago, A.D. 321: "Let all judges and all city people and all tradesmen rest upon the venerable day of the sun. But let those dwelling in the country freely and with full liberty attend to the culture of their fields; since it frequently happens that no other day is fit for the sowing of grain, or the planting of vines; hence, the favorable time should not be allowed to pass, lest the provision of heaven be lost." The laws in A.D. 386 among other items proscribe litigation, business, indictments, collections of debts, theatrical exhibitions, and contests in the circus on Sunday. It was 538 ere plowing, cultivating vines, reaping, mowing, and thrashing, *because they kept people from church*, were forbidden. Riding, driving, cooking of food, anything done to house or person, was approved as permissible on Sunday. In the tenth century, England ordered "abstention from heathen songs and devil's games and trading and folkmotes" on Sunday. Very rigid enactments for Sunday observance do not characterize the medieval period.

The reckoning of Sunday varied greatly. Sunday was defined as from vespers to vespers, from eight on Saturday night to midnight of Sunday or dawn of Monday, from daybreak to dark on Sunday, from midnight of Saturday to midnight of Sunday, and from noon of Saturday to dawn of Monday.

The liberalism of the earliest Protestants regarding the fourth commandment usually shocks their modern

descendants. Zwingli was certain that the ceremonial sabbath had been abolished and therefore any person might engage in work after attending the divine service. To bind Christians to observance of special days was to rob them of their freedom. Martin Luther considered the sabbath commandment an altogether external matter. The Christian freeman could naturally not be bound to particular customs, persons, times, and places. The only justification for Sunday is expediency, said Luther. Human limitations seem to require one day weekly for religion. That day might just as well be regarded as Sunday, because unnecessary innovations create disorder. The Augsburg Confession, A.D. 1530, defined the sabbath-Sunday problem from the Lutheran point of view: "Those who judge that, by the authority of the Church, the observance of the Lord's day instead of the sabbath day was ordained as a thing necessary, do greatly err. Scripture has abrogated the sabbath day; for it teaches that since the gospel has been revealed, all the ceremonies of Moses may be omitted. And yet, because it was necessary to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when they ought to come together, it appears that the Church designated the Lord's day for this purpose; and this day seems to have been chosen all the more for the additional reason that men might have an example of Christian liberty and might know that the keeping neither of the sabbath nor of any other day is necessary."

John Calvin continued the argument for a day of rest and worship on the basis of expediency. The advent of the Lord had abolished everything of a ceremonial nature connected with the fourth commandment. His most radical contention was that *to regard the moral part of the commandment to be the observance of one day in seven simply signifies the changing of the day because of contempt for the Jews!* Christians ought to be free from all superstitious observance of days. *The sabbath was abrogated to destroy superstition.* And yet the custom of assembling for Christian worship on the Lord's day is salutary. The abolition of the Christian day of worship would spell convulsion and ruin. The Lord's day is "necessary for the preservation of decorum, order, and peace in the Christian church." During his whole life the Christian should meditate on a perpetual rest from his own works. As far as a man has leisure, he should engage in pious reflection. No Christian should unkindly oppress any one subject to him. "But the principal thing to be remembered is the general doctrine that, lest religion decay or languish among us, sacred assemblies ought diligently to be held, and that we ought to use those external means which are adapted to support the worship of God." Various early confessions of the Reformed Church vigorously support the conclusions of Calvin. The earliest Calvinists were not sabbatarians.

A glance at England reveals the same general atti-

tude toward the sabbath-Sunday problem in the opening decades of the sixteenth century. William Tyndale, who translated portions of the Bible into English and suffered martyrdom in 1536, felt that the Christian was lord of the sabbath and might change it to Monday or Thursday or any other day or keep it every tenth day or arrange for two rest days each week. "*Neither needed we any holy day at all, if the people might be taught without it.*" Cranmer's Catechism, 1548, held that Christian liberty permits us to "observe Sunday and certain other days, as the magistrates do judge convenient, whom in this thing we ought to obey." Queen Elizabeth refused to sanction a law for stricter observance of Sunday.

The Puritans changed all this. In 1595 Nicholas Bownde published a study on "The Doctrine of the Sabbath, plainly laid forth and soundly proven." Briefly summarized, his position was this. The sabbath existed from the creation, not from the time of Moses. The first seventh day in the history of the world was sanctified. Every seventh day since creation has been holy. The sabbath was designed to be a perpetual and universal observance. Adam and his successors observed it. Christ and his apostles did not observe the sabbath ceremonially but spiritually. But the obligation to keep the seventh day was not abrogated. That obligation is permanent. Therefore, the Lord's day, to be sure the first day of the week, must after all be the sabbath day

—shades of Calvin! By iron-clad legalism the permanency of the "seventh-day sabbath" is demonstrated. Thereupon by an amusing reversal of argument the seventh day is converted into first day! Every seventh-day sabbatarian appreciates the inconsistency of the Puritan argument at this point and has the "Christian sabbath" at his mercy. Thus Bownde made the Jewish sabbath over into the Christian Sunday. *The day was changed but its nature retained.* A "Christian sabbath" has been brought into existence. The Puritans adopted and promoted this new point of view. The Church of England opposed this sabbatarian heresy.

In reaction to Puritanism, the "Book of Sports" was promulgated in A.D. 1618 and again in A.D. 1633. Precise people were criticized, and Papists, Puritans, and those who absented themselves from divine services were excluded from the Sunday pleasures allowed to all others. The lawful recreations of the favored were "such as dancing, either men or women, arching for men, leaping, vaulting, or any kind of harmless recreation, or having May games, Whitsonales, and morris dances, and the setting up of May poles and other sports therewith used . . . and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom." Only bear- and bull-baitings, interludes, and bowling were prohibited. This free and easy Sunday disappeared under Cromwell. Three Sunday laws were enacted. The first of these

Sunday laws of the Commonwealth forbade all selling of goods, traveling and games, suppressed the "Book of Sports," compelled attendance upon divine services, but permitted household tasks when necessary. The second Sunday law of Cromwell was more drastic, empowering officers to search for offenders and to place them in stocks or cages in default of fine. The third Sunday law of Cromwell, maintaining the "Christian sabbath" theory, covered about everything a person might do. Even markets and fairs on Saturday and Monday were forbidden. Officers who failed to enforce its extreme provisions were punished. Minor children who transgressed were disciplined. Arguments against Sunday observance were forbidden.

Out of such a background as this issued the Westminster Confession of Faith with its chapter, "Of Religious Worship and the Sabbath-day." Here it is affirmed that the sabbath, "from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week; and, from the resurrection of Christ, was changed into the first day of the week, which in Scripture is called the Lord's Day and is to be continued to the end of the world, as the *Christian sabbath*. . . . This sabbath is then kept holy unto the Lord, when men, after a due preparing of their hearts and ordering of their common affairs beforehand, do not only observe a holy rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts, about their worldly em-

ployments and recreations; but also are taken up the whole time in public and private exercises of his worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy." *Thus an hypothesis fifty years old was converted into a fundamental of the Protestant creed.* For this seventeenth-century Puritan dogma was incorporated in other popular confessions of faith and became the Protestant view of Sunday. In contradiction to Luther, Calvin, and other early Protestant Reformers, the Jewish sabbath was assigned to the first day of the week. Not only was Jesus' attitude toward the sabbath modified, but centuries of Christian discrimination between Lord's day and sabbath were ruthlessly set aside. A sabbath was desired but not a seventh-day sabbath, since that was Jewish. In this way the "Sunday sabbath" originated. It signified reversion to Jewish legalism. It puts quite a strain upon interpretation to discover a "Christian sabbath" in the New Testament. The "Christian sabbath" was a seventeenth-century graft upon the Lord's day.

As old England, so New England. Massachusetts Bay Colony soon forbade labor after three on the afternoon of Saturday and imposed catechising; in 1646, it compelled attendance upon Sunday worship; in 1653, it ordered the penalty of a fine and a whipping for any person over seven years of age detected walking or playing in the streets from dawn to dusk of Sunday; in 1664, it placed the death penalty upon sabbath-break-

ing; in 1667, it appointed tithing-men to apprehend desecrators of the sabbath law. More drastic laws were passed, but the scofflaws were so many that the laws were not executed. Therefore the reorganized colony in 1760 repealed all existing sabbath laws and substituted a more comprehensive enactment.

Similar sabbath laws were passed in other English colonies in America. Connecticut had a kind of pre-Baumes sabbath law punishing Sunday burglary by one ear off, first offense; two ears off, second offense; and death, third offense. By 1721, Connecticut punished any one who went out of his house on Sunday "except for worship or necessity." After 1726 no trial was necessary in case of sabbath-breaking. New York in 1659 prohibited travel, labor, shooting, fishing, sporting, playing, horse-racing, frequenting of tippling-house, and many other unlawful exercises and pastimes upon the Lord's day. One might travel any distance under twenty miles in order to attend public worship. The 1700 law of the colony of Pennsylvania permitted the preparation of food by public houses, distribution of milk before nine in the morning, and landing of passengers by watermen all day. Taverns could "sell liquors in moderation to regular inmates and travelers." Rhode Island in 1673, reaffirming the principle of liberty of conscience, passed an enactment "not to oppose or propagate any worship" but to prevent "debaistness" by forbidding gaming, tippling, immodesty,

or wantonness on Sunday. Virginia by various laws paid attention to Sunday observance. The penalty for a month's absence from church worship was fifty pounds of tobacco. Persons taking a voyage upon the sabbath except to church or for other causes of extreme necessity were to be fined twenty pounds of tobacco. A later law raised the penalty for "traveling, loading of boats, shooting of game," and the like upon the sabbath to a hundred pounds of tobacco.

Puritanism turned the Lord's day into a "Christian sabbath." How illogical that position was, some Christian literalists soon pointed out. The more diligently they searched the Scriptures, the more confident they became that no New Testament proof-text could be quoted to justify the identification of Lord's day and sabbath. Of course there is no such verse. And they concluded against Paul, Luther, Calvin, and others that the sabbath had not been abrogated. Hence it must be kept. Incipient sabbatarianism appeared during the early days of Protestantism. About the middle of the seventeenth century, Seventh-day Baptist churches were definitely organized in England. In 1671 the Christian seventh-day sabbath was transplanted to Rhode Island. In 1844 the Seventh-day Adventists organized. At the present time the Seventh-day Baptists form a gradually disintegrating group. Their reported membership amounts to about 7500. The Seventh-day Adventists are still increasing and number over 100,000.

The adoption of a Christian seventh-day sabbath completed the romance of the fourth commandment. The sabbath began as a monthly religious festival. It became a weekly event of social and economic significance. Thereupon Jewish theologians added further religious motives for its observance and promulgated meticulous regulations as well. By the beginning of the Christian era, written and oral tradition had made it a part of the *mores*. Jesus transgressed the sabbath laws of Judaism. Primitive Christians of the conservative type kept the sabbath in like manner as they offered sacrifice in the temple at Jerusalem. But Paul and Gentile Christians in general kept the Lord's day on the first day of the week and never identified it with the sabbath falling on the seventh day of the week. The Lord's day was not a sabbath day. Early Protestantism was practically unanimous in holding that the sabbath was abrogated. On the basis of expediency its leaders concluded that they would keep Sunday as a day of rest and of worship. A century later Puritanism succeeded in turning Sunday into a sabbath, popularizing the terminology of "Christian sabbath." Henceforward the Lord's day was regarded as a Sunday-sabbath. Because this position seemed quite illogical, some zealous biblical literalists proceeded to insist upon a Christian seventh-day sabbath. And literalism is today confronted with the task of finding a verse in the New Testament that justifies the identification of Lord's day with the

Jewish sabbath of the fourth commandment. Since religion need not be consistent, there is little danger that Christianity as such will reopen the discussion of the sabbath-Sunday problem. Sunday will be considered a different day from the other six. Religion, custom, desire, and common sense will unite to protect the idea of a weekly worship and rest day.

CHAPTER XV

From the Power of the Ancient Father to the Rights of the Modern Child

When a man sells his daughter to be a slave, she shall not go free like the male slaves.

A stubborn and rebellious son accused by his parents shall be stoned to death.

Honor your father and your mother, as Yahweh your God has ordered you, that you may have a long life and that all may go well with you in the land which Yahweh your God is giving you.—BIBLE.

"Of all created things, the loveliest and most divine are children."

ALTHOUGH known as the child commandment, the fifth commandment was at first not concerned with minors. It was addressed to adult males. The ancient Semitic census did not include women and children. Even at a much later period exhortations were as a rule directed toward sons: "Listen, my son, take to heart what I say, and the years of your life shall be many; my son, if you are wise, I shall indeed be joyful; chastise your son and have an easy mind; he will delight your soul."

The cult of the dead may form the remote background of this mandate. But ancestor-worship has vanished from its present form. The adult male Hebrew

is warned against incurring the curse of his father.

The linking of the mother with the father presupposes a considerable development of the original injunction. The absolute sway of the father has ended. Among various peoples the power of life and death belonged to the father. In ancient Babylonia, the father could brand, make a slave of, and sell a disobedient son. Denial of father meant cutting out of the tongue. For striking a father, a son's fingers were amputated. The Roman father could decline to accept the newly-born child if deformed or not suited for membership in the family. A son could be sold. The ancient Hebrew father was exceedingly autocratic. From Abraham down, he ruled. Directed by God to sacrifice his only son on one of the hills of Palestine, Abraham does not obtain a permit from judge or priest. He assumes full responsibility for the slaughter of an innocent young man. When Judah the son of Jacob heard that his daughter-in-law had engaged in prostitution, his peremptory order was, "Bring her out and burn her." No trial at which Tamar might have offered her astounding defense was deemed necessary. No judge had to be consulted. Jephthah had a perfect right to vow to Yahweh that he would offer up as a burnt sacrifice him who came out of his house to greet him on the return from victory in battle. And he did not break his vow to save his only daughter and child from death. A man of Gibeon offered his daughter to the

mob to abuse. Leviticus contains a warning to fathers against degrading their daughters into temple prostitutes. In earlier times the father offered his first-born in sacrifice. At a much later day he could still contemplate giving his first-born for the sin of his soul. It was likewise the father who redeemed the first-born from the priest. Hebrew fathers could sell their daughters into slavery. Parents afflicted with stubborn and rebellious sons who were not improved by chastisement had merely to present them to the sheiks of the town and declare that they were stubborn and rebellious, spendthrifts and drunkards. Further inquiry was not conducted. The word of the father sufficed. Such children were stoned to death. The cursing or striking of parents was also a capital offense. Fathers had to pass upon the vows of their daughters; that is, a father could even reverse oaths taken before Yahweh. Of course, fathers settled matrimonial problems. The minor child, then, a chattel which might be offered to the deity in sacrifice, sold, or given away, hardly required an admonition to obedience.

Times of distress and famine were doubly hazardous for the child. Parents might devour their children. When Samaria was besieged and a great famine resulted, two Hebrew women arranged to boil and eat their sons. One son was boiled and consumed. But when the turn of the other mother came, she hid her son and refused to abide by the agreement. The former

mother complained, and so the case got into the record.

But the economic and social importance of the child was not to be denied. Child labor was useful to the parents. The survival of the group depended upon the survival of the child. God was regarded as being interested in children. Sometimes he sent directions about their nurture. Love and affection were making themselves felt. Abraham gave all he had unto Isaac. David fasted and lay upon the earth all night to preserve the life of his sick child. The inheritance of sonless fathers passed to their daughters. There were demands upon the father in an educational way. He had to explain the meaning of religious festivals to his children. "Nay indeed, the law does not permit us to make festivals at the births of our children, and thereby afford occasion of drinking to excess: but it ordains that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning, and to exercise them in the laws and make them acquainted with the acts of their predecessors."

Jesus appreciated the worth of the child. He rebuked the disciples for thinking that children were not of sufficient importance to merit his interest. He observed their humility and genuineness. He threatened dire penalties against any who wrought against the true welfare of the child. He regarded them as nearer the kingdom of God than their stained and sordid elders.

He understood their moods and their frankness. He laughed with them, not at them. Jesus exalted the child. The child had rights that all must respect. Children were not to be exasperated, but reared for the kingdom of God.

The tragic story of the child was continued under Christianity. Trajan decreed that no exposed child could be made a slave. But from 331 to the era of Justinian, when Christianity was the official religion of the Roman empire, exposed children became the property of their saviors and could be treated as children or slaves. Constantine permitted poor parents to sell their children. Later in Germany fathers could send their children to convents, and in England children of seven and nine years of age were apprenticed to hard service in the houses of other people. Abandoned children were often deposited at church doors in receptacles especially placed for that purpose. In portions of the medieval world it was lawful to hang a starving child for helping itself to some bread on a baker's cart. Late in the fourth century the emperor Valentinian made infanticide a capital offense. For centuries church councils were passing decrees against infanticide with penance periods varying from life to seven years. Finally late in the sixteenth century two popes declared in favor of the capital penalty for this transgression. The sewers sometimes told a ghastly tale.

The Puritan attitude of literalism toward the Bible

caused the application of the severe regulations of Deuteronomy and Leviticus to children. Obstinate and unruly children could legally be put to death. Friday was children's hanging day. Idleness was a sin even in the case of small children. Child labor was sanctioned. Religious education was according to Cotton, Wigglesworth, and the New England Primer. John Cotton's "Spiritual Milk for American Babes drawn out of the Breasts of Both Testaments for their Souls' Nourishment" served as religious sustenance for more than a century. Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom," A.D. 1662, was for upward of a hundred years a best seller in New England. Non-elect infants, after engaging in a debate with the Almighty regarding their desperate case, were allocated to "the coolest room in hell." Wigglesworth represented them as heroically resigned to their fate, because God's sentence of damnation was just:

> The glorious king thus answering,
> They cease and plead no longer;
> Their consciences must needs confess
> His reasons are the stronger.

The New England Primer, first printed in 1690, was for many decades the "only juvenile book published in New England." Among its jingles were these:

In Adam's fall
We sinned all.

As runs the glass
Man's life doth pass.

Proud Korah's troop
Was swallowed up.

Time cuts down all
Both great and small.

Xerxes the Great did die
And so must you and I.

Youth forward slips,
Death soonest nips.

In the New England Primer were also found Dr. Watts' "Cradle Hymn" and a poem entitled "Uncertainty of Life." A few lines from each of these are quoted:

I in the burying place may see
  Graves shorter there than I;
From death's arrest no age is free,
  Young children too may die.

Soft, my child, I did not chide thee,
  Though my song may sound too hard:
'Tis thy mother sits beside thee,
  And her arms shall be thy guard.
Yet, to read the shameful story,
  How the Jews abus'd their King;
How they served the Lord of Glory,
  Makes me angry while I sing.

Some of the selections found in children's books of colonial days would not make good Sunday reading today. "Greedy gluttons buy many dainty bits for their ungodly guts," may serve as illustration.

Religious terrorism was frequently resorted to. Three- or four-year-old children were asked such questions as these: "What must you do to escape God's anger, which your sins have deserved; what must become of you if you are wicked?" The answer given was: "If I am wicked, I shall be sent down to everlasting fire in hell among wicked and miserable creatures." But what shall we say regarding a children's book published abroad about the middle of the nineteenth century and containing this description of the "fifth dungeon—the red-hot oven"? "Psalm XX: 'Thou shalt make him as an oven of fire in the time of Thy anger.' You are going to see again the child about which you read in the Terrible Judgment, that it was condemned to Hell. See! it is a pitiful sight. The little child is in this red-hot oven. Hear how it screams to come out. See how it turns and twists itself about in the fire. It beats its head against the roof of the oven. It stamps its little feet on the floor of the oven. You can see on the face of this little child what you can see on the faces of all in Hell—despair, desperate and horrible! The same law which is for others is also for children. If children, knowingly and willingly, break God's commandments, they also must be punished like

others. This child committed very bad mortal sins, knowing well the harm of what it was doing, and knowing that Hell would be the punishment. God was very good to this child. Very likely God saw this child would get worse and worse, would never repent, and so it would have to be punished much more in Hell. So God in his mercy called it out of the world in its early childhood."

The transition to the machine age was sudden and violent. Cheap labor was in demand. The unprotected childhood of several countries was sacrificed to the Moloch of profit. Poorhouses, orphan asylums, and insane asylums rapidly lost their inmates to meet the demand for workers. William Pitt has the infamy of pointing out to manufacturers how they could meet the heavy war taxes by means of child labor. As one Englishman put it, "Our ancestors could not have supposed it possible, posterity will not believe it true, that a generation of Englishmen could exist or had existed, that would work lisping infancy a few summers old, regardless alike of its smiles and tears, and unmoved by its unresisting weakness, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, sixteen hours a day, and through the weary night also till in the dewy morn of existence, the bud of youth was faded and fell ere it was unfolded." The Reform Act of 1833 forbade the employment of eight-year-olds, but children of nine to thirteen were placed on a forty-eight-hour weekly basis. Those over thirteen

could be engaged for not more than sixty-eight hours per week. Seven years later, however, children were still working twenty hours daily in lace mills. They were given the coarsest kind of food. Those that ran away worked, when caught, with chains around their ankles. On Sundays they cleaned the machines. In 1823 a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was organized. It was 1874 before a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was constituted.

In 1900, 13 per cent of the workers in the cotton industry were children under sixteen. Ten years later, 18 per cent of the children of the United States between the ages of ten and fifteen were employed in various industries. In 1920, Atlanta, Fall River, Milwaukee, New Bedford, and New Orleans were still employing 10 per cent or more of the children between the ages of ten and fifteen. Washington, New York City, and Rochester were at that time still permitting over 5 per cent of their children of similar age to work. Cleveland, Detroit, and Pittsburgh were then making the best showing in this respect among the large cities of the country. To the close of 1925, forty state legislatures had voted negatively on the proposed twentieth amendment to the constitution of the United States that "Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." *But by 1921 forty-four states had laws against employment of children under fourteen years of age.*

During the last fifty years much has been written and accomplished in behalf of the right of the child to a good ancestry, to protection against disease, and to assistance in making adjustment to the requirements of the machine age. Watchwords like "no normal dependent children in institutions; suitable home life for every normal child; elimination of pauperism among children" are being passed along. Religion is beginning to back a sane eugenics, and parental responsibility before parenthood is receiving attention. Juvenile delinquency is treated more scientifically. Less than three decades ago the first juvenile court law was enacted. The Illinois legislature has the honor of pioneering in this important area. Since 1899 the idea that children should not be treated as criminals but according to the rules of civil courts and courts of equity has received solid support. Children's codes in various parts of the world are ushering in a new era.

Probably the best demonstration of the recognition of the rights of the child in the modern world is furnished by the progress of public education. Popular education is one of the consequences of the Protestant reformation. The new religious groups, face to face with the problem of perpetuating their own points of view, had recourse to the education of their members. The next generation must know how to defend the new faith. Something like primary schools resulted. In the American colonies the need was all the greater. Hence,

as early as 1642, Massachusetts was instructing men in each town to see to it that children could read and "understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of this country." Children of such parents as were not proper custodians were to be put to apprenticeship. Half a decade later every town of fifty householders was obliged to provide an instructor in reading and writing, and every town of one hundred householders was ordered to establish a grammar school for such youths as intended to enter college. To be sure, Massachusetts was a theocracy, and religion was the driving power behind these enactments; but public education had been written into law. The theocracy vanished; public education remained, although it was the middle of the nineteenth century ere it was vigorously undertaken. Among its principles are these: "Successful popular government assumes the education of all children; each family is under obligation to educate its children; when any family neglects to educate its children, the state has the right to intervene and enforce such education; the minimum amount and the nature of education are under the jurisdiction of the state; the proper method of defraying the expenses connected with public education is general taxation; and more than elementary education may be undertaken by the state."

So tremendous has the rate of progress of public education in the United States been that there are now

70,000 more public schools than church schools. For the corresponding ages the public school has more than double the enrollment of the church school. There are 550,000 more teachers instructing youth under eighteen years of age than the total number of ministers. New York State, for example, each year devotes twenty times as much money to each pupil in the public school as each church member annually contributes toward the maintenance of Christianity. The public school annually spends about one and three-tenths billions of dollars more than all the churches raise for all purposes. The equipment of the public school is immeasurably superior to that of the church school. For the inculcation of the principles of Christianity, the church Sunday school has been using less than one-fortieth of the time used by the public school for its program.

The aim of public education is to enable the youth of America to live more successfully in the modern democratic environment; to make them more competent interpreters of life; to "prepare them for complete living." But to live successfully, individuals "must be able to see the problems of their own and the social life, must be able to solve these problems successfully, and must will to take the necessary steps to achieve the solution of these problems." Hence public education seeks to tell the youth of the United States what it means to live successfully and seeks to help it engage in successful living.

Public education defines successful living by analyzing the fundamental human needs. It regards these as health, home relations or family life, adjustment to economic situation, citizenship, recreation, and ethical character and religion.

Once upon a time physical education and health service were treated as fads. The experience of the United States in connection with the World War guaranteed the permanent inclusion of an emphasis on health in the curriculum of the public school. The rapid disintegration of the modern home has made the public school the last line of defense for this inheritance from a civilization attached to the soil and dependent on weather rather than on the machine. Our industrial age, in which hundreds of different operations and sets of workmen are essential to the production of shoes, watches, coats, kodaks, has created problems of economic adjustment and vocational activity that were unknown in the day of the pioneer. Without the assistance of public education our economic system would collapse. The average American has some six or more hours of leisure time on his hands every day; add to this most of Saturday and all of Sunday. One of the principal problems of the present day is the proper distribution of this large amount of leisure time. It makes a good deal of difference whether our leisure time is spent at the movies, at cards, at dances and dinners, on automobile tours, in old-fashioned exchange of opinion,

over books, in social service, or in recreation that will make us more alert and optimistic. The church has failed to solve the problem of leisure. Modern men and women know the true history of the sabbath day. New motives need to be suggested to enlist the support of the present age for proper use of leisure time. The present generation has been described as "pirates of leisure." If the next generation is to be saved from the pace that kills, the public school will have to perform this Herculean labor. "The true test of civilization is not the census nor the size of cities nor the crops —no, but the kind of man the country turns out," Emerson said. Nations that refuse to be moral soon disintegrate. Throughout public education the values of religion and ethics are inculcated. They are taught indirectly, to be sure. But religion is always taught more successfully indirectly. What amazes the public educator is that so many religious people fail to appreciate that public education originated within religion and has always been true to it. Public education inculcates religion "in arithmetic, by accuracy; in language, by teaching us to say what we mean; in history, by humanity; in geography, by breadth of mind; in handicraft, by thoroughness; in astronomy, by reverence; on the playground, by fair play. It teaches it in kindness to animals, by good manners to one another, and by truthfulness in all things. It teaches it by showing the chil-

dren that their elders are their friends and not their enemies."

Back of the numerous studies, projects, exercises, assemblies, and special programs of the public school are ideas and ideals that seek to develop successful living. They have been summarized by Courtis as four primary understandings—the understanding of life, the understanding of self, the understanding of what life offers, and the understanding of the means of progress. Life, it is explained, is a unity in which every phase is related to the whole. Life is a continuity, for the present always comes out of the past and conditions the future. Life is progressive, is growth, is development. In various ways the public school student is taught to realize these things. The campus of the public school is the area in American life where religious and racial tolerance is bred. It is our protection against numerous efforts to inaugurate a new inquisition. It is here that one comes to appreciate that "no matter where you go, no matter what the faith is called, if you have the hearing ear, if your heart is in unison with the heart of the world, you will always hear the same song far down below the noises of warring creeds, the clash of words and forms, the difference of place, of ethics, of civilization, of ideals, far down below all these lies that which you would hear"—the universal cry for God and the meaning of life. Public education

teaches self-respect. It shows the student that he belongs to a wonderful natural order which is not of a day but which extends through the millions of years. Every one is a link connecting an infinite past with an infinite future. The future will be different because of what he says and does. In spite of the immensity of the universe, he counts. He must respect those others with whom he associates since they are what he is. And with them and the rest of humanity, he forms a world-brotherhood. What he needs most is stability, balance, the power to be patient and to endure, and intelligent optimism. There will always be mystery in life as there has always been. What counts is the way one takes his failures and successes. Pain may be turned into a gift or may make one a coward and a slacker. What we get out of life is the "opportunity to live creatively." Hence we must direct ourselves toward worthy goals, the goal of self-development and the goal of social service. Progress will be gradual. "Explosions make ruins, but ruins are not solutions." We must become acquainted with the laws of life and nail our flag to freedom under law.

In these ways public education is seeking to protect the rights of the modern child.

Progressive Christianity is also insisting on a greater recognition of the meaning of childhood, advancing such principles as these: "A social order must be built in which every child has the best opportunity

for development; there must be careful instruction in sex hygiene and homebuilding, abundant and wholesome recreation facilities, and education for leisure; child labor must be abolished, and standards for employment of minors which will insure physical, intellectual, and moral development must be established; an efficient system of both vocational and general education of youths and adults living on farms shall be available; every unjust barrier of trade, color, creed, and race must be removed; it is the duty of every church to investigate local moral and economic conditions as well as to know world needs." Children must no longer be handicapped by poor ancestry or by poor environment. Overcrowding, filth, slums, child labor, illiteracy, are decidedly un-Christian. The child is entitled to a religion which is simple and understandable and includes frank and fair answers to its religious questions. The twentieth century intends to care for the child.

CHAPTER XVI

From Ancient Solidarity to Justice

Thou shalt not kill.

A blessing on him who snatches your babes and dashes them down on the rocks.

"I will dash all the citizens of Jerusalem one against another, father and son together . . . till I destroy them"—so Yahweh declares.

An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a foot for a foot, a burn for a burn, a wound for a wound, a lash for a lash.

THE human race has never been averse to killing. Both animal and man, friend and enemy, innocent and guilty, infant and aged, criminal and heretic, have been ruthlessly slain. In Nero's time at the preparation for the Passover, between the ninth and the eleventh hours of a single day 256,500 lambs were bled. Who would estimate the millions that have met death in war? In the revolution of the Jews against Vespasian and Titus over a million fell. The World War took more than 9,000,000 lives, exclusive of deaths from disease and famine. Religion has demanded countless killings from the sacrifice of the first-born to the slaughter of heretics. In A.D. 276 in Persia they crucified Mani, a re-

ligious leader, mutilated his body, stuffed it with straw, and placed it on exhibition. Two hundred of his followers were neatly arranged as a garden display with feet nailed to uprights and heads buried in the soil. The work of the Christian inquisition was very crude, cruel, and brutal from Priscillian to its modern victims. Jews, Albigenses, Waldenses, Anabaptists, and all the rest thought that the church had forgotten the sixth commandment. It is said that the Pilgrims omitted from their statutes 233 offenses requiring the death penalty according to existing English laws. During the reign of Henry VIII, 72,000 of his subjects were hanged. "When George III came to the throne in 1760 there were about 160 offenses for which men, women, and children were put to death; before the end of his reign nearly 100 new offenses were added to the appalling list"—this is the astounding statement of Beard. The human race has been profligate with life.

Infanticide canceled many a promising career. It was due to such causes as the smaller number of girls required by the tribe, the mother's death, the father's death, famine, distress, plague, war, astrology, and religion. Archeology has demonstrated the existence of the institution of infanticide in Palestine. About the rock altar at Taanach the bones of twenty infants under five years of age entombed in jars were found. Under the high place at Gezer remains of newly-born infants in large earthenware jars were discovered. Below the

corner of the temple at Megiddo were unearthed four jars with infants' bones, belonging to the late Israelite period. Katherine Mayo in "Mother India" states that although infanticide is "forbidden in India by imperial law, the ancient practice so easily followed in secret seems still to persist in many parts of the country," and quotes the proverb that "parents look after the son, and God looks after the daughter." But God does not appear to be altogether successful.

Those at the other end of life—the aged—were not always permitted to end their days naturally. Because they were no longer useful, they were sometimes slain.

To kill in war was and is regarded as right and holy. When Jericho was captured, all in the city, men and women, old and young, were massacred. At Ai, Joshua made a thorough job of putting all its inhabitants to death. No one escaped. The town was burned to the ground. The king of the town was taken alive and hanged to a tree until evening. At sunset they threw his body down at the city gate and pelted it with stones. Sisera was general of the king of Canaan. Supported by 900 iron chariots, he advanced against Israel. Defeated by Barak, he fled, and on the promise of protection entered the tent of Jael. She covered him with her rug, slipped quietly up to him as he slept, and drove a tent-peg through his head. In poetry it sounds little better:

But blest above women be Jael,
blest above Bedawin women!
Water he asked, and milk she gave him,
brought him curds in a lordly bowl,
laid her hand on a tent-pin,
laid her right hand on a mallet,
and pounded Sisera, shattered his head,
smashed him, crushed his temple in.

Another Jewish heroine celebrated for assassinating the general of a besieging army was Judith. Judith and General Holofernes were alone in the tent. Holofernes had that day broken the record for wine-drinking. He lay on the bed utterly drunk and helpless. Judith took his scimitar, approached the bed, smote his neck twice with all her might, and leisurely put the head of Holofernes into her bag of victuals. Then she went forth to prayer.

For helping themselves to doomed spoils of war, people were put to death.

Among the offenses punished with death was idolatry. Individuals enticing to idolatry were stoned to death. Towns accepting idolatry were burned and their inhabitants slain without quarter.

Ancient solidarity always vastly multiplied the victims of the death penalty. The welfare of the group and not of the individual was the guiding principle.

Now this is the Law of the Jungle—as old and as true as the sky;

And the Wolf that shall keep it may prosper, but the Wolf that shall break it must die.

As the creeper that girdles the tree trunk, the Law runneth forward and back;

For the strength of the Pack is the Wolf, and the strength of the Wolf is the Pack.[1]

The community was regarded as a unit, and the family was the unit of the community. The rights of the individual were submerged. There are many instances in the Old Testament of treating peoples or nations as units. In the seventeenth chapter of Joshua, the children of Joseph converse with the chieftain and refer to themselves by the singular of the pronoun of the first person. Similarly Edom, in Numbers 20, refers to itself by "I." Moses and the children of Israel sang a song beginning, "I will sing unto Yahweh." Therefore the iniquities of the fathers must be visited on the children. All Israel must expiate the sin of one Israelite. A daughter's transgression profaned her father.

This law of solidarity was also operative when the death penalty was applied. Joshua had despatched about 3,000 men to take Ai. There were few folk there. After the loss of only thirty-six men, they retreated before those of Ai. How could that happen? Because Israel had sinned. Some avaricious Hebrew had helped himself to the doomed spoil. So in the morning they

[1] Kipling, "The Law of the Jungle," in "The Second Jungle Book."

took lots before Yahweh. The clan of Judah was taken. Then the septs of Judah were brought. The lot fell on the sept of the Zerahites. Then the families in this sept were brought. The family of Zabdi was taken by lot. When Zabdi brought his family man by man, Achan the son of Karmi was taken by lot. Achan admitted taking from the spoil "a splendid mantle from Shinar and twenty-five pounds in silver and a bar of gold weighing twenty-five ounces." Of course, Achan had to be stoned! We are interested in the innocents who were stoned and burned with him. "Then Joshua and all the Israelites took Achan the son of Zerah and the silver and the mantle and the bar of gold and *his sons and his daughters and his oxen and his asses and his sheep and his tent and all that he had.* . . . Then all Israel stoned him; they burned him with fire and stoned them with stones and over them they raised a great cairn of stones."

David and King Saul had broken friendship. David was fleeing before Saul. He approached Ahimelek the priest at Nob for help, representing himself as on a secret mission for Saul. Ahimelek innocently gave David bread and the sword of Goliath. A spy of Saul took some notes. A little later the priest at Nob was haled before King Saul. He pleaded not guilty to the charge of befriending the king's enemy. But King Saul found him guilty and sentenced him to death. Not only was Ahimelek killed that day but "eighty-five men who

wore the linen sacerdotal apron," and "he also captured Nob, the town of the priests, giving no quarter, but massacring men and women, children and infants, oxen, asses, and sheep."

When David had become king of Israel, famine afflicted the land in three successive years. Yahweh informed him that the reason was King Saul's slaughter of the Gibeonites contrary to the oath of Israel. The matter was arranged by hanging seven perfectly innocent grandchildren of King Saul on the hill of Yahweh at Gibeon.

Yahweh told King David to number Israel and Judah. It required nine months and twenty days to take the census. The usual remarkable increase in population was reported, for "in Israel there were eight hundred thousand braves who carried swords, while the men of Judah numbered five hundred thousand." Yahweh was angry because the people had been numbered and gave David the choice of three penalties—three years of famine, three months of flight, three days of pestilence. David chose the pestilence. "And when the wheat was being harvested, the plague began among the people, and slew seventy thousand of the people from Dan to Beersheba; but when the angel put out his hand to destroy Jerusalem, David said to Yahweh, 'I have sinned, I have acted perversely; *but these poor creatures, what have they done? Let thy hand be against me and against my father's house.*'

Then Yahweh changed his mind about the punishment."

King Xerxes had seated Haman above all his fellow officials and directed that every citizen should prostrate himself before Haman. Mordecai, an orthodox Jew, refused to prostrate himself. Hence Haman plotted the destruction of Mordecai and the Jews in general. Queen Esther intervened, saved her countrymen, and turned the situation against Haman, who was hanged on a gallows eighty feet high which he had intended for Mordecai. There was gory work throughout the empire. Many innocent people were slain and also the ten sons of Haman. The bloody battles were continued on the next day, and Haman's ten sons were hanged on the gallows.

A Hebrew was writing an apocalypse about B.C. 165. To give his story all the power of prediction, he laid the scene in Persia in the sixth century before Christ. His main character was Daniel, who refused to abandon his religion, come what might. When King Darius ordered the cessation of the worship of all gods and men for thirty days and the concentration of worship on himself, Daniel continued to kneel down three times daily, and looking toward Jerusalem, to pray to the living God. Reluctantly the king had Daniel flung into the den of lions. But the lions did not eat Daniel. The miracle convinced Darius that an injustice had been done. Hence the men who had accused Daniel were

thrown to the lions, "*they and their children and their wives;* before ever they reached the bottom of the den, the lions fell on them and crushed their bones to pieces." In the second pre-Christian century men were still thinking in terms of family solidarity.

There came a day at last, thousands of years after man had thought in terms of the clan, when he began to think in terms of justice and the rights of the individual. More than two thousand years before Christ, Babylonia had written into its laws that an entire family need not be put to death when one of its members had been found guilty on a capital charge. "If a builder has built a house for a man and has not made strong his work and the house he built has fallen and he has caused the death of the owner of the house, *that builder* shall be put to death; if he has caused the son of the owner of the house to die, one shall put to death the son of that builder. If one has caused the loss of a gentleman's eye, his eye shall be lost. If a man has made the tooth of a man that is his equal to fall out, one shall make his tooth to fall out. If a doctor has treated a gentleman for a severe wound with the lancet of bronze and has caused the gentleman to die or has caused the loss of the gentleman's eye, one shall cut off his hands."

It was centuries after the establishment of the kingdom that Israel began to think in terms of justice. Formerly it had been customary to execute innocent

wife, sons, and daughters with the guilty father. Now the higher level of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a foot for a foot, a burn for a burn, a wound for a wound, a lash for a lash," was reached. The upward climb had started. "If a man willfully attacks another to murder him craftily, you must take that man from my very altar and put him to death. If an ox gores a man or a woman to death, the ox must be stoned to death, though the owner of the ox shall go unpunished. But if the ox was in the habit of goring people, if the owner was warned of this and yet did not shut him up but left him to kill a man or a woman, then the ox shall be stoned to death and the owner shall also be put to death." Regulations like these presume a vast improvement over the earlier situation. Private conscience is emerging. The individual must soon appear.

CHAPTER XVII

From the Rise of the Individual to the Sacredness of Personality and Society

> Fathers shall not be put to death for their children, nor children for their fathers; every one shall be put to death for his own sin.
>
> Whoever is angry with his brother will be sentenced by God.

The group was long in complete control, ordering revenge, declaring war, executing cruel customs. Majorities and the *mores* blocked progress. A few rarely dared to differ. They might pay with their lives. But other dissenters were always born. They wondered whether God had really commanded this or that. Over long periods of time they did not venture to take the risk of thinking aloud, but they were thinking. The years rolled on. They transgressed the *mores* again and again, and God did not destroy them. There were no crop failures. Pestilence did not carry off its tens of thousands. They became bolder. They offered strange suggestions. They could not be immunized against skepticism. They rose in meeting and argued that the new idea or movement ought to be given a chance. They

suffered from a Gamaliel complex. They gradually became individuals.

In case of the Hebrews, the change from nomadism to agricultural and industrial conditions in Canaan, the increase in population, the complex relations of town life, the skill necessary to conduct the government successfully and engage in profitable trade, the unavoidable international complications, contacts with other cultures, and vivid religious experiences, stimulated the development of individualism. The prophets were powerful personalities, but for centuries they spoke to the people as such. Jeremiah forms the transition to individualism in Israel. He reached the conviction that his fellow citizens were hoping to get by reformation of worship what could be attained only by regeneration of life. When he proclaimed his interpretation to the people, persecution and arrest ensued. Thereupon he told the truth to himself. There now arose within his soul vast confusion and perplexity. Ere the inner battle was over, Jeremiah had hurled the eternal why at Yahweh and had cursed the day of his birth. He found himself upon a rough and long detour, but he was heading toward the discovery of the value of the individual. All honor to Jeremiah that he resisted the temptation to reduce his terrible struggle by adding a single word about rediscovering God!

The Babylonian exile brought on the disintegration

of solidarity. Ezekiel received a new kind of call. "If you do not warn the wicked man . . . I will hold you responsible for his death. If you do warn the wicked, and if he will not give up his wickedness and wicked course, he shall die for his iniquity. But you have saved yourself." Henceforth good men will save themselves but not the nation. "If a good man gives up being good to commit iniquity, he shall die, and die for the iniquities he has done. If a wicked man gives up being wicked and does what is lawful and right, he shall save his life." As yet individualism is concerned merely with judgment. "Fathers shall not be put to death for their children, nor children for their fathers; every one shall be put to death for his own sin." Individualism must still be applied to personal communion with God.

In the book of Job the collision of the individual conscience with the collective conscience is described. Prosperity demonstrates the approval of God; adversity, God's displeasure with man—this was orthodox dogma in Israel. But Job registered the criticism of having always lived the righteous life and yet having met with adversity. And his friends could not shake his convictions.

In the course of the second pre-Christian century the necessities of individualism helped fashion the doctrine of the resurrection and the judgment. The heavy losses in human material during the Maccabean revolution,

the increasing miseries and inequalities of life, the constant suffering of the righteous, the continued good fortune of the wicked, the omission of penalty in case of flagrant transgressions, made fun of justice and called loudly for a correction of things in a world beyond.

It must have been shortly after this that some unknown Hebrews took a great stride forward and emphasized the sacredness of human personality. They substituted love for hatred and free forgiveness for revenge. Nothing finer has appeared in the annals of man. "Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take to swearing and so thou sin double. And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honor thee and be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart and leave to God the avenging."

We come to Jesus of Nazareth, who solved the problem of solidarity and individualism. He was a unique individual. He gave primary heed to attitude and disposition and character. He announced a religion of the

spirit. He insisted that willing must be genuine, must originate within man. Every final ethical decision must have the approval of the heart. To find God one must recognize the good. Each one must settle what is right. Man is an independent being. Personality and freedom meant so much to Jesus that he gave himself without stint to discovering diamonds in the rough. The greatest achievement of Jesus was himself. He transmitted his personality, not a program. He desired his disciples to be free beings, finding their own way and at times painfully. He believed that if they followed the law of their construction they would find God. He taught that every man is under obligation to use his own common sense, to serve the common good, to rely on his moral equipment, to discriminate between the trivial and the essential, to come to complete self-realization, and to respect the personality of others. Thus Jesus stood for the infinite worth of the individual.

But Jesus also recognized that the individual belongs to society. Since the universe is friendly and God is the Father who can be loved and trusted, men are brothers. If each brother has infinite worth, how superlatively significant is the brotherhood! The individual has the fairest opportunity in the coöperative commonwealth. Men belong together.

What, then, was the ideal of Jesus in which the rights of the individual and of society were blended? It may be represented by an ellipse of which one focus

is purity and the other love. These two are inseparable, and both are primary. Jesus demanded the clean heart rather than the clean hand. He stood for absolute purity of aim and motive. The inside of the cup was the real issue. Genuineness was to be found at the core of life. "From within, from the heart of man, the designs of evil come: sexual vice, stealing, murder, adultery, lust, malice, deceit, sensuality, envying, slander, arrogance, recklessness, all these evils issue from within and defile a man." Purity signifies freedom from hate; "whoever strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other to him as well." Of course purity did not involve cowardice: "if your brother sins, check him, and if he repents, forgive him." Purity did demand freedom from envy, since "envy is the beginning of all darkness in men." Purity called for heroism, the heroism of the pure: "You think I am here to make peace on earth? No, I tell you, it is dissension; whoever does not carry his own cross and come after me, he cannot be a disciple of mine; for which of you wants to build a tower and does not first sit down to calculate the expense to see if he have enough money to complete it?" And the humility of Jesus is likewise the fruit of purity and love, not of baseness: "When you give alms do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing; so if you remember, even when you are offering your gift at the altar, that your brother has any grievance against you, leave your gift at the altar and

go away; first be reconciled to your brother and then come back and offer your gift."

The love contemplated by Jesus knew no limitations, except those of purity. It was directed toward all, the personal enemy, the national enemy, the sinner—the enemy of God. Jesus pronounced the parable of the Good Samaritan and forgave the town prostitute and welcomed the returning repentant prodigal. Modernize the parable of the Good Samaritan, and you feel its full force. Or consider this appeal: "Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you: bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you"—to appreciate the superiority of the love of Jesus. Neither good will nor sympathy exhausts the love of Jesus. It is warm and compelling. It receives, it gives. It forgives, it desires forgiveness. It serves. It sacrifices. "Whosoever wants to be great among you must be your servant, and whoever of you wants to be first must be your slave: for the Son of Man himself has not come to be served, but to serve and to give his life as a ransom for many."

The Norwegian Olav Sletto thus paraphrased the ideal of Jesus: "Jesus asked his disciples to take their place on the grass and himself did likewise. For a long time he sat there in silence. Then he began: 'I want to speak to you today regarding important matters, concerning matters to which you must give attention; for later on men will demand clear testimony from you.

" 'Hear now, I tell you that men never have under-

stood that which men should know most about: *life*. Go to the experts in the law, and you will soon discover that these will let you stumble in darkness. What they tell you about life is erroneous, for our scribes do not comprehend the meaning of life. And when they come to the people you observe that their knowing originated in darkness.

" 'They are no better than the world rulers, the Romans. For power and splendor and wealth constitute for them the content of life.

" 'Folks are so narrow, so provincial. And it would be hopeless if now a time of power were not coming, of power to make souls great and honorable, so that eternal matters and thoughts could find room in them.

" 'The time has come. The kingdom came full of power to accomplish. With us who sit here, the kingdom came. I am the messenger and I called you, peasants and fishermen of Galilee, under this sign. A little longer you must be silent and learn. Hear, what I now tell you. Israel has experienced periods of greatness and of pain. Its fate has varied. Now the moment has come when the people should serve. For the first time, Israel should serve humanity. Thus we and they shall serve the peoples. For the kingdom of God is not Jewish—it is the kingdom of humanity on earth. It is the world kingdom. To this kingdom every people is elected. Every nation has the promise that it shall inherit and not be neglected.

" 'Because the king of this kingdom is God, and all men are to be servants of God, the members of this kingdom are no longer lords of others but brothers among brethren. Remember this.

" 'Behold, the kingdom of God has other laws than those recognized by this world. The difference is tremendous. And if the world desires to reach the good, it must turn about and return at once. The world has innumerable laws, and they age and change. The kingdom of heaven has few laws, only three eternal, unchanging, fundamental principles. And they are these:

" 'The creator's will over the human will. This is the first thing. Love thy neighbor as thyself, that is the second point. The third principle I announce as the explanation of the other two: Thou must suffer in the world and walk the path of service. More laws man needs not.

" 'As now in the kingdom of truth the laws are different, so also all things are there measured in a different way than in the world. There are different standards. What is regarded as small and valueless in the world is rated honorable and dear in the kingdom of truth. So great is the chasm between them.

" 'Our watchword which all that belong to the kingdom should use as a sign that we know one another is: Love and serve. And with this battle cry our hosts are to conquer the enemy.' "

Needless to say, Christianity has never measured up

to the ideal of Jesus. It either made him a legalist and thus missed his true meaning or regarded the coöperative commonwealth as a fool's paradise. Hence the western world has had its full share of crime, debauchery, and killings. Noble motives could always be suggested to catch the approval of majorities. Wars could be interpreted as holy. Consider, for example, the wastage of human life in connection with the two centuries of crusading against the Mohammedans. The immediate occasion of the eastern crusades was the possession of the Holy Land by infidels. But the Turks were encroaching upon the eastern empire, and the popes appreciated that this was their first line of defense. And the crusades offered a way to realize the Roman ecclesiastical ideal of subjecting the eastern church to Rome. Death while fighting against pagan or infidel was glorified as akin to martyrdom. Plenary remission of sins and eternal life were conferred in advance on those that took the cross.

The true story of the eastern crusades uncovers the wide departure of the medieval church from the ideal of Jesus. The original documents contain a sordid tale. Special inducements were offered by Christian councils and the popes to those who went. "Let those who have been accustomed unjustly to wage private warfare against the faithful now go against the infidels. . . . Let those who have been fighting against their brothers and relatives now fight in a proper way against the

barbarians. Behold! on this side will be the sorrowful and poor, on that, the rich. . . . There is not much wealth here, and the soil scarcely yields enough to support you. On this account you kill and devour each other, and carry on war and mutually destroy each other. Set out on the road to the holy sepulcher, take the land from that wicked people, and make it your own. Jerusalem is the best of all lands, more fruitful than all others, as it were a second Paradise of delights. . . . If any are in debt but with a pure intention set out on this holy journey, they shall not pay the interest already due. . . . The clergymen [who go] shall receive all the income of their benefices for three years, just as if they were residing in them. . . . Since it is a little more than a year until the time set for going, we decree that all who have taken the cross shall be free from all collections, taxes and other burdens. . . . We order the secular authorities to compel the Jews to remit the interest to all crusaders."

Pope Eugene III delivered a few remarks on crusades that form interesting reading: "Moreover, since those who fight for the Lord should not have their minds set on fine clothing, or personal decoration, or hunting dogs, or falcons, or other things which savor of worldliness, we urge you to take care that those who undertake so holy a journey shall not deck themselves out with gay clothing and furs, or with gold and silver weapons, but that they shall try to supply themselves

with such arms, horses, and other things as will aid them to defeat the infidels."

Under the cloak of religion many participating in the first crusade plundered and robbed. Various Christian towns along the routes, and especially the Jews, suffered many hardships. In the suburbs of Christian Constantinople the crusaders destroyed and burned palaces and stole the lead covering the churches and sold it to the Greeks. Frederick's army "devastated Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Phrygia with slaughter, rapine, fire, and sword."

What were the people at home doing, while thousands of Christians were dying on the battlefields of the East? Innocent III had to forbid the Venetians to continue their profiteering. "We forbid you to aid the Saracens by selling them, giving them, or exchanging with them, iron, flax, pitch, sharp instruments, rope, weapons, galleys, ships, and timbers, whether hewn or in the rough. . . . We excommunicate and anathematize those false and impious Christians who, against Christ and the Christian people, furnish the Saracens with arms, irons, and timbers for their galleys." The situation was so serious that this papal decree was ordered "published anew every Sunday and Christian feast day in all the maritime cities."

The crusades continued for about two centuries. When they were over, the papacy was in decline, the eastern and western churches were permanently sepa-

rated. Mohammedanism had not been overcome, many Christians were wondering why these bloody wars had been undertaken, and Mohammedanism held Christianity in contempt. Would it have made a difference, if Christianity had tried the so-called Utopianism of Jesus?

At the time of the Reformation, Christianity had once more to face the problem of the righteousness of war. But John Calvin dissected pacifism in this way: "If it be objected that the New Testament contains no precept or example which proves war to be lawful to Christians, I answer, first, that the reason for waging war which existed in ancient times, is equally valid in the present age; and that, on the contrary, there is no cause to prevent princes from defending their subjects. Secondly, that no express declaration on this subject, is to be expected in the writings of the apostles, whose design was, not to organize civil governments, but to describe the spiritual kingdom of Christ. Lastly, that in those very writings it is implied by the way that no change has been made in this respect by the coming of Christ."

With the numerous Christian arguments in behalf of the righteousness of some wars, we are all familiar. What surprises is that such a writer as Nietzsche should have proposed disarmament as the way to peace. "Perhaps a memorable day will come when a nation renowned in wars and victories, distinguished by the high-

est development of military order and intelligence, and accustomed to make the heaviest sacrifice to these objects, will voluntarily exclaim, 'We will break our swords,' and will destroy its whole military system, lock, stock, and barrel. Making ourselves defenseless . . . from a loftiness of sentiment—that is the way toward genuine peace, which must always rest on a pacific disposition. The so-called armed peace that prevails at present in all countries is a sign of a bellicose disposition, of a disposition that trusts neither itself nor its neighbor, and partly from hate, partly from fear, refuses to lay down its weapons. Better to perish than to hate and fear, and twice better to perish than to make oneself hated and feared. This must some day become the supreme maxim of every political community." [1]

The Christian conscience may some day apply the sixth commandment to war. The preliminary work is well along. The interdependence of modern life, the search for a moral equivalent for war, the actualities, horrors, and atrocities of modern warfare, the Hague Court, the World Court, the League of Nations, and the success of arbitration are some of the factors making for peace.

[1] Quoted on page 83 f. of Washington Gladden's "The Forks of the Roads."

CHAPTER XVIII

Her Master

Then Yahweh God said to the woman, "You shall crave to have your husband, and he shall master you."

Thou shalt not commit adultery.—BIBLE.

"Blessed art Thou, O Lord our King, King of the universe, who hast not made me a woman."

"Blessed art Thou, O Lord our King, King of the universe, who hast made me according to thy will."

THE seventh commandment was addressed to adult Hebrew males. Its purpose was to protect the property of one male against infringement by another. The wife was the property of the husband.

Girls might become the property of men by capture, as when the Benjamites hid in the vineyards until the girls of Shilo came out to dance and thereupon seized them. Beautiful women among the prisoners of war might be claimed as wives by the victorious Hebrews. Boaz bought the field of Naomi and thereby purchased Ruth as wife. Ruth was the property of Mahlon and became the chattel of Boaz. David paid a heavy price for Michal the daughter of Saul; to obtain possession of her, he killed a hundred Philistines. David, attracted by the beauty of Bathsheba, invited her to his palace

and thereupon arranged for and secured the wanton murder of her husband in battle. Yahweh sent a prophet to rebuke David. He told the king a parable. "There were two men in one town, a rich man and a poor man. The rich man had many sheep and cattle. The poor man had nothing but a single ewe lamb *which he had bought;* he fed it, and it grew up with him and his children. It used to eat his own morsels and drink from his cup and nestle in his bosom, just like a daughter. Now a traveler came to visit the rich man, and the rich man spared his own sheep and cattle when he had to make provision for the traveler who came to visit him. He took the poor man's lamb and prepared that for the visitor." David was informed that Yahweh would have to punish him for violating the property of Uriah. How? "I will take your wives from under your eyes and let your fellows have them." The rights of Bathsheba were not considered. She was a pawn handed from one man to the next. Indeed, she remained the wife of David and became the mother of Solomon. The seventh commandment was not enforced against David. But his property—his wives—were to be treated as he had treated the property of Uriah.

The laws of the Hebrews emphasized the proprietary rights of the male in various ways. A man who seduced a betrothed virgin was stoned to death. But if his victim did not happen to be pledged, to belong to another man, he paid her father fifty shekels. The

difference between fifty shekels and death was the difference between the property rights of the father and those of the husband. When a married slave was emancipated, his wife also went free because she was his property. The tenth commandment classifies the married woman among the chattels of her husband, such as slaves and cattle.

Since the wife was the property of her husband, she could not complain about his infidelity. He as a rule did the divorcing. Salome, daughter of Herod, took the initiative in securing a divorce, but even at that late date such action was regarded as "alien impropriety." To settle the matter of ownership, the Deuteronomic law prescribed the presentation of a deed of divorce and forbade remarriage after a second marriage had been consummated. Divorce occurred for many reasons —"he that desires to be divorced from his wife *for any cause whatsoever,* and *many such causes happen among men.*" The evil of divorce was not keenly felt. There is one late protest in the Old Testament against the custom: "Not one of you has any trace of moral sense. Take heed unto yourselves, and let none prove unfaithful to the wife of his youth, for I detest divorce and cruelty to a wife, the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, declares."

Adam is represented as monogamous. Lemek, the sixth generation after Adam, married two wives, Adah and Zillah. The patriarchs had mistresses. Miriam and

Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman he had married. Gideon had many wives and seventy sons—a sort of anticipation of Brigham Young. Elkanah had two wives. Before rising to complete rule over Israel, David married seven. After coming from Hebron to Jerusalem, David took unnumbered wives and mistresses. Solomon had 700 royal wives and 300 mistresses. This became the world record. No law of monogamy appears anywhere in the Old Testament.

Marriage was generally within the group. Abraham made his oldest servant swear never to marry Isaac to a daughter of the Canaanites but to choose a wife from his kindred. It was a bitter disappointment to Isaac and Rebekah when their son Esau at forty married the daughter of a Hittite. Jacob won favor by marrying daughters of Laban, his mother's brother. Intermarriage with the seven nations was forbidden. Samson was warned to select a woman from among his own clansfolk. Solomon disobeyed the divine mandate and married many foreign women. Hence he had no undivided mind for Yahweh. The chief priest was bound to marry a virgin of his own race.

The economic value of the wife and mother is dwelt on in the thirty-first chapter of Proverbs:

> A rare find is an able wife—
> she is worth far more than rubies!
> Her husband may depend on her,
> and never lose by that;

She brings him profit and no loss,
from first to last.
She looks out wool and flax,
and works it up with a will.
She is like merchant ships,
fetching foodstuffs from afar.
She rises before the dawn,
to feed her household,
handing her maids their rations.
She buys prudently;
with her earnings she plants a vineyard.
She finds that industry is profitable;
the lamp burns all night in her house.
She girds herself to work,
and plies her arms with vigor;
She sets her hand to the distaff,
her fingers hold the spindle.
She fears not snow for her household;
for they all wear scarlet wool.
She has mantles made for herself,
she is robed in linen and purple.
To poor folk she is generous,
and lends a hand to the forlorn.
Her husband is a man of note,
he sits with the sheiks in council.
She makes linen yarn and sells it;
she supplies girdles to the traders.
Strong and secure is her position;
she can afford to laugh, looking ahead.
She talks shrewd sense,
and offers kindly counsel.
She keeps an eye upon her household;
she never eats the bread of idleness.

Her sons congratulate her,
and thus her husband praises her:
"Many a woman does nobly,
but you outdo them all!"
Charms may wane and beauty wither,
keep your praise for a wife with brains;
give her due credit for her deeds,
praise her in public for her services.

In Ecclesiasticus, the husband's appreciation of his wife is referred to in this way:

Happy is the husband of a good wife;
And the number of his days shall be twofold.
A brave woman rejoiceth her husband;
And he shall fulfill his years in peace.
A good wife is a good portion:
She shall be given in the portion of such as fear the Lord.

Laws and social customs have never altogether settled the relation between husband and wife. The charm and power of the individual woman have upset many a precise calculation. It was so in Israel. The beauty of Canaanitish maidens set at naught ingrained custom. The alien wife proved dangerous to the cult of Yahweh. Women were named after Yahweh and El. Recall Jochebed, mother of Moses; Elisheba, wife of Aaron; Abijah, mother of Hezekiah. Women made vows to Yahweh and were leaders in war and religion. Personalities like Miriam, Deborah, Huldah, and Noadiah come to mind. In the temple there were ministering women and singing women. Women partici-

pated in the Passover and were present at the reading of the law.

Genesis represents woman as yielding to the temptation of the serpent and as not only eating some fruit from the forbidden tree but involving Adam in her sin. A Jewish apocalypse of a much later period relieved Adam from all blame by letting Eve succumb to a second temptation and Adam gloriously resist the wiles of the devil. Hence it became a dogma in Israel that "from a woman was the beginning of sin; and because of her we all die." The spell of woman must have been tremendous to overcome such accusations.

In another way religion did damage to motherhood. The mystery of conception and birth naturally led to strange tabus the world over. The Hebrew attitude was finally summed up in the harmful statement: "Ah! 'twas in guilt that I was born, 'twas in sin that my mother conceived me." In the next chapter the dire consequences of this conclusion in the history of Christianity will be noticed. It is sufficient for the present to observe that the twelfth chapter of Leviticus describes the Hebrew wife as unclean from having become a mother. Motherhood in case of a male child was penalized by forty days of purification and in case of a girl baby by a period of eighty days. During all that time the mother must not touch anything sacred or enter the sanctuary. At the expiration of her time of uncleanness, the Hebrew mother had to expiate her sin

by bringing a yearling lamb for a burnt-offering and a young pigeon or a turtle-dove for a sin offering. These were handed to the priest, who offered them before Yahweh. Only after the priest had thus made expiation for her was she again without sin.

CHAPTER XIX

Her Masters

> By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband. . . . A man cannot grant anything to his wife, or enter into covenant with her; for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence and to covenant with her would be only to covenant with himself: and therefore it is also generally true, that all compacts made between husband and wife when single are voided by the intermarriage.
>
> —BLACKSTONE.

UNDER Christianity woman was subordinated to both husband and church. Until the nineteenth century two masters sought to control her. Some think she then became man's master. But in the summer of 1927 the National Woman's Party pointed out that "there are now at least sixty-six discriminatory laws against women. In Vermont and Georgia every penny which is earned by the wife is considered the legal property of the husband, and in Alabama and Maryland a husband may will away the custody of a child."

The Christian church early reached the conclusion that the single state was preferable to married life. Paul had so argued on the ground that the end of the

world was at hand, marriage was for this age, persecution would characterize the last days, and the cares and distractions of married life afforded less opportunity for devotion to the work of the Lord. He believed it was lawful to marry and refused to sanction separations on account of religious differences. But marriage was merely a "substitute for a worse state." The church soon arranged to stay in the world awhile but accepted Paul's interpretation of marriage.

The church also made much of Leviticus 12. To this day, on February second, Candlemas is celebrated. February second is the fortieth day after December twenty-fifth. From the fourth century onward, Christianity has regarded the twenty-fifth of December as the birthday of Jesus. Leviticus 12 prescribed a period of forty days' absence from the sanctuary for the mother after the birth of a son. The festival of February second commemorates two things: the presentation of Christ in the temple and the purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Is it not passing strange that Mary should at the "first instant of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege of Almighty God have been preserved free from all stain of original sin," that she should have borne Jesus without sin, and yet that there should be a modern church festival representing her as entering the temple and presenting the twofold offering in order that the priest might expiate the sin of her motherhood? "Churching of women" is

a euphonius name for a church rite also traceable to Leviticus 12. It was not exclusively concerned with thanksgiving for the survival of the mother during the ordeal of childbirth and with prayer for future happiness, since the ritual in part read: "Then shall the woman be sprinkled with holy water by the priest, saying: 'Thou shalt purge me, O Lord, with hyssop.'" The doctrine of original sin as defined in various Christian creeds and confessions of faith is ultimately intimately related to motherhood.

Religion is often accompanied by asceticism. The suffering of the body is thought essential to the attainment of perfection. Any new religious group must practice a stern discipline to demonstrate the superior way of life which it claims for itself. Christianity from its origin had criticized the sex morality of its environment. Divorce was free and easy in the Graeco-Roman world, although the instance of a woman married for the twenty-third time to one who had weathered twenty-one matrimonial adventures was probably exceptional. The church depreciated marriage but never dared outlaw all marriage, lest the church itself disappear. Virginity was exalted. Three degrees of virginity were recognized—from birth to death, spiritual marriage, and from the death of the first husband or first wife. This meant the division of Christians into the heroic, saintly minority and the terrible majority. It

also signified an uncommon amount of legalism and conceit.

Any one who will turn to the sixth volume of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers and read the twenty-second and one hundred and thirtieth letters of St. Jerome and his works against Jovinianus and Vigilantius will come upon a eulogy of virginity and a fanatical disparagement of wedlock probably without parallel in Christian history. Purist societies should long ago have registered a protest against the publication of this material.

If unwedded chastity is the purpose of man, marriage is a constant contradiction; yet matrimony among the laity must continue. But the priesthood might become celibate. Clerical celibacy evolved very slowly, and in the East has never been enforced against the parish clergy. At first, the clergy were forbidden to marry after ordination or to enter into second marriages. Married men might become priests, but priests might not marry. From the beginning of the fourth century the West regarded general clerical celibacy as ideal. Soon spiritual marriage was insisted upon for the higher clerical orders. Under pope Leo the Great the clergy from subdeacon to bishop were bound to celibacy. The enforcement of celibacy was another matter. In 784 sacerdotal celibacy was declared obligatory. Toward the end of the ninth century marriage was resumed. Pope Gregory VII in 1074 decreed: "If there

are any priests, deacons, or subdeacons who are married, by the power of omnipotent God and the authority of St. Peter we forbid them to enter a church until they repent and mend their ways. But if any remain with their wives, no one shall dare hear them, because their benediction is turned into a curse and their prayer into a sin." And the Ninth General Council, held in the Lateran, A.D. 1123, forbade "priests, deacons, and subdeacons to live with wives or concubines." In 1215 sacerdotal celibacy was declared to be the fixed policy of the church. Thus, "the holiest and most intellectual were condemned to sterility." The development of the West was retarded. Sex and women were disparaged. The inevitable reaction to asceticism appeared in the twelfth century in the new adoration of woman. The Blessed Virgin Mary became the exceptional woman, perpetually virgin and sinless.

Among the laity, only monogamy was endurable. That was a distinct gain. But the interpretation placed on marriage did not exalt womanhood. The wife continued to be subordinated to her husband. For had not Adam been created first, then Eve? Adam was not deceived. It was Eve who was deceived and fell into sin. Woman must be faithful and loving and holy and unassuming. The husband is the head of his wife. The wife must be subject to her husband. The humiliation of woman reached its nadir when theologians debated whether she had a soul.

The church went back to Jesus and Paul in declaring marriage indissoluble. Jesus had taught that the original intention of God was permanent monogamy. He appealed from Deuteronomy to Genesis. "Male and female he formed both; God has joined together; let not man separate." Second marriage for either man or woman was adultery. No divorce under any circumstances could be approved. Exceptions did not exist. Paul in general supported the verdict of Jesus. "For married people these are my instructions (and they are the Lord's, not mine). A wife is not to separate from her husband—if she has separated, she must either remain single or be reconciled to him—and a husband must not put away his wife." Thus Jesus went beyond the strictest Jewish view of marriage and demanded a complete and inviolable monogamy. Marriage is not, he held, a contract, but an unbreakable natural and divine arrangement.

The primitive Christian church soon returned to the view of Rabbi Shammai and listed unfaithfulness as a reason for divorce. Further exceptions were gradually accepted until in some sections of the church divorce could be obtained on such grounds as adultery, desertion, conversion, and capture in war. Charlemagne, for example, was quite religious, but repudiated two wives and introduced four mistresses after the death of his fifth wife. Later when marriage became perfectly indissoluble except by death, the purpose of divorce was

accomplished in another way. A marriage celebrated but not consummated could be dissolved. The diriment impediment denied the validity of the original marriage. In its ultimate effect it makes little difference whether you call it divorce or diriment impediment. According to the former view a maiden is declared married and secures a divorce on the charge of violence. According to the latter view the Rota discovers that violence was employed at the time of the marriage and therefore the decision reads that no marriage occurred. In either case the woman is free to remarry or to marry for the first time, if one can swallow the legal fiction and declare a married relationship of years' standing illicit. At the time of the Protestant reformation, it was very forcibly argued that quibbling over the causes for which marriage might be declared null and void *ab initio* had really made divorce very easy.

From its origin the church had offered suggestions to its members concerning marriage. Ignatius early in the second Christian century exhorted Christians to "form their union with the approval of the bishop." It was after Christianity had been recognized as a legal religion by Constantine that it began to exert a stronger influence on the existing customs of betrothal and marriage. In the reign of Theodosius I, death by cremation became the penalty for marriage between first cousins. As the more rapid disintegration of the Roman empire came on, Christianity succeeded in modifying the pri-

vate marriage ceremony of the empire by adding attendance on ordinary religious services, participation in the sacrament, and the benediction of the priest.

In the later Graeco-Roman civilization, marriage was a private affair. Religious rites might be celebrated but they were not required. Marriage was a civil matter. The woman had equal rights with the man. The legal family and the natural family did not coincide, since the wife remained legally connected with the family of her father. Her property did not become his property. Either husband or wife could secure a divorce. *Tuas res tibi habeto*, spoken by the husband, was the ancestor of the few words of the modern judge.

Now canon law, continuing the Roman method, made only the free consent of the parties concerned necessary to a *valid* marriage. A private verbal contract in the form "I take thee to be my wedded wife," constituted a valid marriage. The church might oppose clandestine marriages as illicit but could not declare them null and void. As an up-to-date authorized Catholic pronouncement puts it: "*In matrimony, the parties who marry are themselves the ministers of the sacrament.* By their expressed mutual consent they marry themselves. The officiating priest sanctions their union in the name of the church and bestows her benediction upon it, *but does not marry the parties.* . . . If a couple wish to marry in a locality where for a month there has been no priest qualified to join them in matrimony,

they may simply express their mutual consent to be man and wife in the presence of two witnesses, and they are thereby validly and lawfully united in Catholic marriage."

The marriage law of the medieval church became a "heterogeneous compound of Roman and feudal, Christian and Jewish traditions." The church sought to control marriage ways among the Teutonic races, who even in the tenth century openly bought their women in marriage. The two stages of this marriage were the contract between father and suitor and the handing over of the woman to her husband by father, guardian, or friend. By the tenth century the church had brought this ceremony out of privacy to the door of the church and the presence of the priest. If Erasmus may be trusted, the later medieval wedding ceremony was degrading. Wanton dances took place from dinner time to supper, when the home of the bride was open to all comers and she must dance with drunkards, diseased men, and ruffians. After a tumultuous supper, there was further dancing and a nightcap. The bridegroom had to fight with other young men. The ceremony itself was accompanied by foolish gestures and immodest words.

The Catholic Church gradually built up impediments to marriage, of which there are two kinds. The hindering impediment renders a marriage unlawful but does not invalidate it. A marriage entered into dur-

ing forbidden times, from the first Sunday in Advent to Christmas inclusive and from Ash Wednesday to Easter Sunday inclusive, would be unlawful. A simple vow of chastity and a previous engagement to another person are classified as hindering impediments. The other kind of impediment is known as "diriment" impediment, which renders a marriage null and void. The error of mistaking the woman for another woman, a condition in which a person unknowingly goes through a form of marriage with a slave, a solemn vow of chastity, consanguinity to the third degree inclusive, affinity to the second degree inclusive, spiritual relationship, crime, public decorum, marriage to an unbaptized person, previous marriage, extreme youth, violence, and so forth, are classified as diriment impediments. "The Council of Trent, therefore, in declaring all matrimonial unions between Catholics and non-Catholics null and void, unless entered into before the ecclesiastical authority, was rather inaugurating a return to the old discipline existent before the twelfth century than making an entirely new law. By its decree the Council requires the contract to be entered into before the parish priest or some other priest delegated by him and in the presence of two or three witnesses under penalty of invalidity."

The Roman Catholic view of marriage may now be summarized. Matrimony is indissoluble. Marriage is a sacrament. The word "sacrament" is found in the Vul-

gate rendering of a passage in the fifth chapter of Ephesians: "Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the Church and delivered himself up for it. . . . This is a *great sacrament*, but I speak in Christ and in the Church." The sacrament of marriage confers the grace "to live together in godly love and honesty." A Christian may not have several wives at the same time. The Church may modify the degrees of consanguinity and affinity described in Leviticus and has the right to establish impediments dissolving marriage. Neither heresy nor adultery dissolves the bond of matrimony. In case of the latter, separation but not remarriage for the innocent party is sanctioned. The vow of celibacy is permanent. The state of virginity or celibacy is superior to the marriage state. Matrimonial cases belong to ecclesiastical judges. "The state has no right to nullify marriages but merely to regulate them." Because marriage between baptized persons is a sacrament, it falls under the authority of the Church. The Council of Trent defined spiritual kinship to be an impediment to marriage only between the administrator of baptism or confirmation and the sponsors on the one hand and the baptized or confirmed person and his parents on the other hand.

CHAPTER XX

Equals

Do you take each other as partners, equals, companions, to make a home, to live together in sickness and in health, in good and evil times, to share joys and sorrows?

With this ring, symbol of deathless love and never-ending faith, I thee wed and all my worldly goods with thee share.—*From a modern wedding ritual.*

In the year of our Lord 1525, Martin Luther shocked Europe and disappointed some of his friends by marrying Katharine von Bora. He had taken the vow to permanent celibacy. She had taken the vow to permanent virginity. From the union of such a monk and nun, Anti-Christ was expected. Moreover, Luther had selected an inopportune time for his marriage. The year 1525 was the tragic year of the Reformation. Germany was soaking wet with the blood of the peasants' war. But the reputation of both was clean. Luther had decided to give a demonstration of Christian freedom. In the long run his decision to marry helped promote a nobler view of marriage.

The Protestant interpretation of marriage forms the transition to the modern point of view.

Luther and Lutheranism disapproved of celibacy as in conflict with both divine and natural law, as at variance with the decisions of earlier councils, as based on superstition, as dangerous and scandalous because not practiced. Marriage is holy and lawful. They also took issue with the sacramental view of marriage. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are sacraments, because they are signs of the new covenant and testimonies of grace and remission of sins. But marriage was instituted at the creation of the human race. It has had God's benediction from the beginning. If marriage were to be considered a sacrament because a command of God, magistracy, prayer, alms, and afflictions would forthwith become sacraments. The prohibition of marriage between sponsors was declared unjust. Marriage should be not compulsory but voluntary. The innocent person should be permitted to marry in case of divorce, but the generous Old Testament regulations regarding divorce the New Testament does not sanction. Marriage is necessary to continue the human race and to prevent lewdness. As to the relation between husband and wife, the following New Testament passages were quoted: "Ye husbands, dwell with your wives according to knowledge, giving honor unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life, that your prayer be not hindered. And be not bitter against them. . . . Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands, as unto the Lord. Even

as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord: whose daughters ye are, as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement."

In 1537, some Lutheran theologians assembled at Smalcald directed attention to the fact that according to the Code of Justinian decisions concerning marriage belong to the magistrates, and went on to say: "The canons also concede the same. Wherefore also on account of this jurisdiction it is not necessary to obey bishops. And indeed since they have framed certain unjust laws concerning marriages, and observe them in their courts, *also for this reason there is need to establish other courts.*" This was the entering wedge for the transfer of marriage from the ecclesiastical to the civil court and in harmony with Calvin's suggestion of the preceding year that Catholicism by turning marriage into a sacrament had been able to assume jurisdiction over it.

John Calvin repudiated celibacy, "since it had not only deprived the Church of upright and able pastors, but had formed a horrible gulf of enormities, and precipitated many souls into the abyss of despair. The interdiction of marriages to priests was certainly an act of impious tyranny, not only contrary to the word of God, but at variance with every principle of justice." He also denied that matrimony is a sacrament. After rehearsing the Lutheran argument, Calvin examines the context of the fifth of Ephesians—the Roman Catholic

proof-text—and observes that the author is speaking of a relation between Christ and the church and not between husband and wife. An investigation of the word "sacramentum" leads to the conclusion that it should be translated "mystery." *Moreover, he wonders why the priesthood should have been excluded from marriage, if it is a sacrament.* Finally, he points out that by making marriages a sacrament, the church "assumed the cognizance of matrimonial causes; for matrimony was a spiritual thing, and not to be meddled with before lay judges." Calvin finds fault with the church for declaring that "spiritual relatives be not united in marriage." Paul's view of marriage profoundly influenced Calvin. Hence he also regards marriage as a cure for incontinence. Husband and wife are to observe sobriety toward each other. In case of adultery, it is lawful for the innocent party to remarry.

In England the divorce problem met with various solutions until in 1604 authority was conferred on ecclesiastical courts to grant judicial separation, provided the parties concerned promised not to contract a second marriage. A special act of Parliament was necessary for divorce with the privilege of remarriage. In 1857 the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts in cases of matrimony was ended, and jurisdiction was transferred to civil courts. The Lambeth Conference of 1908 held that "when an innocent person has by means of a court of law divorced a spouse for adultery, and desires to

enter into another contract of marriage, it is undesirable that such contract should receive the blessing of the Church."

It was the American Puritans who capitalized the suggestion of Luther, Calvin, and others that marriage is a civil contract. Officers of the law, not ministers of the gospel, were to solemnize marriages. When a minister was summoned to preach at a "great marriage," the magistrates "sent to him to forbear." In 1646 the precursor of similar enactments in New Haven, Connecticut, and Rhode Island was passed by the Colonists of Massachusetts Bay, that "no person whatsoever in this jurisdiction shall join any persons together in marriage, but the magistrate, or such other as the General Court or Court of Assistants shall authorize, in such place where no magistrate is near." It was 1685 before Boston witnessed the "first marriage with prayer-book and ring." In 1733 Rhode Island abandoned its opposition to marriage by a clergyman.

About the middle of the eighteenth century Prussia interpreted marriage as a civil contract in which the church has no concern. But the religious ceremony of marriage was retained. Toward the end of that century the Roman Catholic Church of France, after prolonged debate, concluded that the state must fix the conditions of the civil marriage contract and its annulment. The benediction of the priest merely gave sacramental value to the contract. The withholding of the

priestly blessing in no way invalidated a legal marriage. The Roman Catholic states of Germany approved the French view. The papacy naturally refused to accept this doctrine.

The modern state, while charitable toward religious feeling, exercises jurisdiction over all matters relating to matrimony.

The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 terminated a war of three decades in which religious toleration played a significant rôle. In that same year a bloodless conflict of nearly three centuries began. For Mistress Margaret Brent entered the assembly of the Maryland colony and claimed the right to vote. Her request was promptly denied by the governor, but "the said Mrs. Brent protested against all proceedings in the present Assembly unless she may be present and have vote as aforesaid."

Just two centuries later, July 20, 1848, a "Declaration of Sentiments" was written at Seneca Falls, New York. This document, formulated more than eighteen centuries after the birth of Christianity, is modern woman's eloquent indictment of lordly man:

"The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

"He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she had no voice.

"He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

"Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

"He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

"He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

"He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, *her master*—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty and to administer chastisement.

"He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of woman —the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man and giving all power into his hands.

"After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

"He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law she is not known.

"He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

"He allows her in church, as well as in state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

"He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

"He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

"He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

"Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half of the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

"In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule, but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the state and national legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this convention will be followed by a series of conventions embracing every part of the country."

The American married woman in 1848 believed herself civilly dead, under obligation to obey her husband as her master who could deprive her of her liberty and chastise her. The laws of divorce had been written by man without regard to the happiness of woman. On the basis of apostolic authority she had been given a subordinate position in church and state and ex-

cluded from the Christian ministry. Her main complaint was that she had been made morally an irresponsible being, that her self-confidence and self-respect had been lessened, and that thereby she had been degraded to lead a dependent and abject life.

The fight for equality was long and bitter. The womanhood of America appeared before every Congress between 1869 and 1919, demanding the suffrage. Wyoming Territory in the former year took favorable action. In 1919 the bill authorizing the nineteenth amendment passed Congress: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." On August 18, 1920, the thirty-sixth State, Tennessee, voted favorably. A subsequent legislative enactment gave the married woman an independent citizenship status so that it no longer follows that of her husband. An American woman no longer forfeits her citizenship by marriage to an alien. An alien woman no longer by marriage to an American acquires American citizenship. An alien woman must obtain naturalization for herself.

Political enfranchisement of woman is being accompanied by her religious enfranchisement the world over. Such phrases of the marriage ceremony as "who giveth this woman to be married to this man," "obey," "to have and to hold," are undergoing revision, and the ideas of equality are being written into it. The parties

regard themselves as partners, companions, equals, and "love as itself a sacrament" older than any creed and holy.

Thus the ancient commandment written by man for man has been superseded by the ideal of Jesus so long overlooked by Christianity. Beyond all doubt emancipated modern womanhood will proceed to reconsider some of the other commandments. May she discover that the gospel of Jesus by its emphasis on the worth of the human soul as such, on the universality of love, and on the equality of all human beings before God, has been as leaven in a selfish culture.

CHAPTER XXI

The Bible on Property

Yahweh to Moses: "So make it known to the people that every man is to 'ask' his neighbor and every woman to 'ask' her neighbor for jewels of silver and of gold. . . . They had thus taken toll of the Egyptians."

God has given you this land to possess.

Thou shalt not steal.

Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.

Store up no treasures for yourselves on earth, where moth and rust corrode, where thieves break in and steal.

THE eighth commandment is the property commandment. While possession denotes the temporary control of things, property signifies a recognized permanent and exclusive control of things. It may be common, joint, or private. At first property was held for use, later it was used for power. Plato proposed the abolition of private property from his ideal state. Aristotle viewed it as "an instrument of personality." Locke regarded the individual as owning that part of the open earth in which he had "mixed his labor." Socialism regards property as "held in common for all." What is the view of the Bible? [1]

[1] Chapters XXI to XXIII are deeply indebted to Max Weber's "Protestant Ethics and the 'Spirit' of Capitalism," and the resulting discussion, and "Property, its Duties and Rights, etc.," with introduction by Bishop Gore.

The patriarchs owned their wives, children, slaves, and land—movable and immovable property. Abraham gave all he had to Isaac. Esau disposed of his birthright by sale to Jacob. The right of property was recognized within the group. Second-century Christians recognized with regret that when Israel was preparing to escape from enslavement in Egypt, every man and every woman received a divine commission to "ask" their Egyptian neighbors for costly things, and that the Hebrews helped themselves to the wealth of the Egyptians on a large scale. When the garment of a fellow countryman was taken in pledge, it was to be returned. When a fellow countryman's ox or sheep was seen going astray, help must be offered. Interest must not be exacted on a loan made to a fellow tribesman; from a foreigner interest might be taken. Claims on a fellow countryman were to be remitted, while a foreigner could be pressed for payment.

Penalties on the transgression of the law of theft were heavy—fivefold reparation for the theft of an ox, fourfold reparation for the loss of a sheep. If unable to pay his fine, the thief was sold into slavery. A robber entering a house before dawn might be slain if caught in the act. A kidnaper had to be put to death.

Over and over again Yahweh is described as assigning Canaan to Israel as its very own. "There it lies; march in and take possession of the land which Yahweh swore he would give to your fathers and their de-

scendants." Moses assigned their property and inheritance to two and a half clans on the east of Jordan. The remaining nine and a half clans were assigned property by lot by Eleazar, the priest, and Joshua. And the ownership of Yahweh is affirmed in numerous laws and increasingly.

Any person might enter his neighbor's vineyard and eat his fill of the grapes, but could not put any in his bag. He might pull up ears of standing grain but could not use a sickle on it.

Every year those who held property had to bring one-tenth of their grain, wine, liquor, oil, oxen, sheep, or money to the sacred spot chosen by Yahweh, and there eat what was edible in his presence. Every third year a full tithe had to be deposited at home. Thither the Levite, alien, fatherless, and widow of the community came and ate. The entire tithe was sacred to Yahweh.

Every seventh year the poor people were allowed to help themselves to whatever grew on the land, in the vineyards, and in the olive yards.

Every fiftieth year a loud trumpet-blast was sounded through the land, and each man went back to his own property. "When you sell any land to your neighbor or buy any land from your neighbor, you must not defraud each other, but buy and sell in view of the number of years and crops till the next year of jubilee; as the years are many, you must increase the price, and

as the years are few, you must lower the price, *for what is sold is the number of crops!* You must not defraud one another, but stand in awe of God; for I am Yahweh your God. *No land is to be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine, and you are only guests of mine, passing wayfarers; you must allow land to be bought back anywhere in the country you hold.*"

These regulations are relics of "communistic agriculture; that is, of a stage of society in which the fields belonging to a village are the property of the villagers collectively, individuals only acquiring the use of a certain portion for a limited period, and the rights of the community being recognized by the individual landowners being obliged, at stated intervals, to renounce their claims to the use, or produce, of the soil, in favor of the body of villagers generally." Where such customs as these prevail, private ownership is not complete.

The Chronicler represents David as saying in a prayer concluding an address on his preparation for the building of the temple: "All in heaven and earth is thine; . . . riches and honor come from thee who reignest over all. . . . All gifts come from thee, and we only give thee what is thine. For we but come and go before thee upon the earth, mere passing waifs, as all our fathers were; our days on earth flit like a shadow, without hope. O thou, Yahweh, our God, all these stores which we have prepared to build thee a

temple for thy sacred majesty, come from thine own hand and are all thine own."

The eighth-century prophets were constantly protesting against the existence of the poor, because the wealthy had eaten up the vineyard. "Woe unto those who join house to house, who add field to field, till there is no more room, and ye are settled alone in the midst of the land."

In the day of Nehemiah the laws looking toward equality were not being executed. There was loud complaint in Israel against the heavy mortgages and the sale of sons and daughters into slavery. Interest was being taken from fellow countrymen. Nehemiah pleaded for enforcement of the scoffed-at law and caused the money-lenders to take an oath before the priests to restore all they had secured.

As foreign domination increased and life became harder in Judea, with merchants doing wrong and hucksters sinning, the justice of the prophets was converted into mercy and charity. In pity one "fed the hungry, housed the outcast, and clothed the naked." Job boasts that he "delivered poor men when they cried, aided the fatherless and the helpless, gladdened the heart of the widow, and wore the robe of charity and kindness." Tobit remembers that he gave many alms to his brethren. When he had abundance of meat, he brought the poor to his home and fed them. The author of Ecclesiasticus was sure that both "poverty and

riches are from the Lord," that no good could come to him that gave no alms, that "riches are good that have no sin; *and poverty is evil in the mouth of the ungodly.*" Such progress away from earlier Hebrew ideals of ownership had been made by the time of Josephus that he looks on the old-fashioned Jewish sect of the Essenes with wonder: "They entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration, how beyond all other men that addict themselves to virtue, this which hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, not for a little time, both endured for a long time among them. I mean that institution of theirs, whereby they have all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. . . . They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruit of the ground; such as are good men and priests; who are to get their grain and their food ready for them."

No doctrine of property is discoverable in the sayings of Jesus. Without the parables of the rich fool, unjust steward, and Dives and Lazarus found in the Gospel according to Luke, the materials relating to possessions would be exceedingly meager. His commands are conditioned. While some were called on to forsake all and become disciples, others were directed to remain in the old environment. Jesus was speaking to special people in special circumstances on special

themes and not laying down a program to be carried out in the twentieth century. It is a matter of cases, not of a code. Jesus very dramatically pictured the illusions of wealth. He observed how riches were constantly being used for the extension of personal power instead of for the benefit of humanity. Dives had been immunized against the poverty of Lazarus. When the rich young man proposed to become the follower of Jesus, he asked him to sell all he had. The expenses for his tours were raised by women. The presence of an over-rich disciple would have proved embarrassing in many ways. Wealth has a tendency to master the man or group that possesses it. So the rich young man was challenged to put his wealth back into service. Jesus opposed God to Mammon. He thought a large camel had a better chance of pushing itself through the eye of a common needle than a rich man had of entering the kingdom of God.

Jesus did not organize a proletarian movement. He was concerned with the poor, the oppressed, and the insignificant, and Christianity appealed to slaves. But the upper classes were also represented in primitive Christianity. The early Christians met in the homes of members, were given to hospitality, and were not class-conscious. The Epistle of James must even warn its readers against having too high regard for the Christian rich: "Suppose there comes into your meeting a

man who wears gold rings and handsome clothes; and also a poor man in dirty clothes; if you attend to the wearer of the handsome clothes and say to him, 'Sit here, this is a good place,' and tell the poor man, 'You can stand or sit there at my feet,' are you not drawing distinctions in your own minds and proving that you judge people with partiality?" For a brief period the church at Jerusalem had something like a common fund to which exceptional members voluntarily contributed their property. The experiment was conditioned on the expectation of an immediate world judgment and the catastrophic establishment of the kingdom of God. The author of Acts idealized the situation by a twofold description. "All the believers kept together; they shared all they had with one another. They would sell their possessions and goods and distribute the proceeds among all, as any one might be in need. . . . Not one of them considered anything his personal property, they shared all they had with one another. There was not a needy person among them." Later the church at Jerusalem was very poor.

Jesus left the matter of property under general principles. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and "as ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them." John asks, "Whoso hath this world's goods, and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God

abide in him?" Persons are more valuable than property. The brotherhood has claims on the wealth of its members.

But the word to the rich young man regarding the renunciation of his wealth in order that he might attain perfection and the two passages in Acts regarding community of goods among primitive Christians rather determined the medieval Christian doctrine of wealth.

CHAPTER XXII

Pre-Protestant Christian Views of Property

> Understand, then, ye rich, that ye are in duty bound to do service, having received more than ye yourselves need. Be ashamed of holding fast what belongs to others. Imitate God's equity, and none shall be poor.
>
> —"The Preaching of Peter."

> As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it unto me.—Bible.

For three centuries Christianity was an illegal religion. Local and general persecution accompanied its progress. Toward the end of the second century the economic disintegration of the Roman empire gathered momentum. Wealth was more and more concentrated in the hands of the few, and the masses were correspondingly impoverished. Destitution and distress abounded. In answer to the requirements of the brotherhood, Christianity organized an excellent charitable system. Uhlhorn was confident that the church then as never since "highly reverenced the poor, treated them kindly and lovingly and was farther from fostering beggary and making life easy for idlers." Christianity regarded the possessor of wealth as a steward acting for God. Insisting that the Christian life must be

simple, it exhorted the rich to return to God what exceeded need. The offerings of the wealthy were brought to the altar and distributed by the bishop. This method enabled the poor to accept charity with less injury to their self-respect and taught the givers that they were under obligation to God. Tainted money was frowned on. The sources of wealth were investigated. The taking of interest, for example, was condemned. Greek and Roman writers had regarded interest as contrary to nature and had condemned the taking of interest. Christianity continued this attitude. Both humanity and mercy made it necessary not to take interest from a poor and needy man. Clerics who lent money at interest were anathematized. The canon law of the medieval church absolutely forbade interest and ordered the return of the profit. The opposition to interest survived to the nineteenth century. In 1745 Pope Benedict XIV decreed that interest is unjust and must be returned. In 1836, the Holy Office confirmed the decision. Exceptions were granted when a lender risked the loss of his capital or of some investment in making the loan. The pressure of Protestantism and the modern economic situation have caused a change of heart on the part of the Roman Catholic Church.

This charitable system of the early church assumes the existence of private Christian wealth. The problem was the measure and extent of charity. Religious and ethical considerations, not economic theories, guided the

Christian view. In general it was held that private wealth should be reduced to the lowest possible amount. The suffering of some and the abundance of others contradicted love. Any delight in possessions was selfishness or love of the world. Alms canceled sin and secured merit. Necessary wealth was lawful. Unneeded wealth was to be given away. God intended equality of possession. Sin and selfishness had produced the existing unequal distribution of wealth.

As time went on the church found itself supporting the possession of riches to obtain its charitable funds and also on common-sense principles. Pride and self-righteousness became characteristic of the well-to-do. The poor were temporarily relieved but humiliated by charity. Moreover, it was natural for them to take life easy and to expect more gifts. Meanwhile, the church itself became a great land-owner and enormously wealthy and powerful, especially because Constantine in 321 had decreed that the "churches might inherit through testamentary provisions." This property-owning Christianity was constantly challenged by a radical ascetic minority, a property-renouncing Christianity which repeatedly quoted, "If thou wouldst be perfect, sell all thou hast and give to the poor," and "Not one of them considered anything his personal property; they shared all they had with each other." Dante in the eleventh canto of Paradise celebrates the marriage between St. Francis of Assisi and Poverty:

A dame [Poverty], to whom none openeth pleasure's gate
More than to death, was, 'gainst his father's will,
His stripling choice: and he did make her his,
Before the spiritual court, by nuptial bonds,
And in his father's sight from day to day
Then loved her more devoutly. She, bereaved
Of her first husband [Christ], slighted and obscure
Thousand and hundred years and more, remained
Without a single suitor, till he came . . .
Although she, constant, bold, and uncompelled,
Had mounted on the cross with Christ,
While Mary stay'd beneath.[1]

Early in the third century Clement of Alexandria spoke a word favorable to wealth and a slight amount of luxury. His monograph was entitled, "Who Is the Rich Man That Is Saved?" He allegorized the conversation between Christ and the rich young man who was really directed not to give his possessions away but to abandon his attachment toward them and to employ them for the ends of charity. Possessions severely handicap their owner, and one must not become a slave to wealth, but wealth devoted to good use need not be discarded. Love for the Christian community and the feeling of gratitude toward Christ should make the Christian a nobler steward of the riches entrusted to him. The principles of justice, love, and equality should be regulatory of the Christian interpretation of property.

[1] Translation by H. F. Cary.

Three medieval Christian theories of property should now be discussed. The first was a naïve and literalistic construction of the words of Jesus regarding the attainment of perfection through the renunciation of wealth. It underlay medieval monasticism and the incipient communism of various Christian sects. The second was a view of property based on the assumption of man's fall from original innocence into sin. The third was the theory of Thomas Aquinas.

All the way through Christian history, theories of and attempts to realize community of property greet the student. These hypotheses originate in religious and philosophical, not in economic, considerations. The Carpocratians of the second and third centuries interpreted private property as sin and as opposed to the divine arrangement of things. Their argument took this course: God's intention was equality. The heavens are spread out equally. The sun shines on all alike. Every one has eyes. Differences such as those between free man and servant, man and woman, wise and foolish, rich and poor, do not exist with God. The inequalities of earth come through human laws introducing notions of "mine" and "thine." In the fourth century, Donatism in northern Africa fought against private property and differences between lord and servant, attacking the well-to-do and refusing to pay debts. In the fifth century an anonymous British Christian, impressed by the contrasts of the disintegrating Roman

empire—abundance, gluttony, palaces, and wealth, on the one hand; poverty, hunger, huts, and want, on the other—again claimed that riches are a sin, all must have equal wealth, and religion requires that one dispossess himself. Toward the end of the same fateful century Salvian of Marseilles asked the simple question, "Whence are riches?" and gave the simple answer, "From God." Therefore all wealth must be devoted to the service of God. But obviously private property is withdrawn from that service. Moreover, Christians should not clutch their property and bequeath it to their descendants. Monasticism made, and within certain limits enforced, the same principles. It sought to maintain the principles of voluntary poverty and communal ownership. Moravian Anabaptists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries successfully engaged in communism. The modern Shakers are just disappearing after a century and a half of community life. The Amana Society, transplanted from Germany in 1842, is still conducting its communistic experiment in Iowa.

In A.D. 410, Alaric sacked Rome. For eight hundred years Rome had been spared this ordeal. Serious citizens were heard to say, "Rome has perished in Christian days." The sack of Rome was the judgment of Jove on its abandonment of the ancient ways that had called down showers of blessing from high heaven! The taunt gave Augustine many miserable moments. So he

took about a decade and a half to think it over. Then he published an apology for Christianity in twenty-two books. In the first ten books, he replied to the pagan criticism of Christianity. In the following twelve books he offered his solution of the problem by describing the City of God and the city of this earth, in a general way, the church and the state. God created the world. Finally he created man so that he was able not to sin. God's intention for man was that he might advance to the stage of not being able to sin. *But man fell.* After that, man was not able not to sin. Now the City of God was continued in Seth, the pious Hebrews, Jesus, his disciples, and the church. The fall of man was attended by the appearance of the city of this world which was continued in Babylon, in Alexander's empire, and, up to Augustine's day, in the Roman empire. The state, then, was not original. It existed because of sin. It resulted from sin. Cain the murderer built the first city! Romulus slew Remus at the founding of Rome! Augustine even said, "If justice is taken away, then, what are kingdoms but great robberies?" and, "The fact is, true justice has no existence save in that republic whose founder and ruler is Christ. . . ." But Augustine was very practical and therefore accepted the world and the state as "needful, natural, and necessary."

Augustine's view of wealth was a corollary to his view of the state. Originally property was common.

God created an earth that would yield its fruits for all men. According to nature, ownership should be common, with the right to individual use. If there were such a thing as a sinless society, property would be common, coercive government would not exist, and man would not be avaricious. But as things are, man is in a fallen state. He is selfish, cruel, overreaching, avaricious. Hence, the coercive state had to emerge to protect man against his neighbor. To have order and peace in such a world as this, the state created private property. "Private property is the creation of the state, and belongs to positive law, and is limited by its utility." This view of property was simple, apparently supported by the Bible, and became very popular, dominating "political theory to the end of the eighteenth century."

Thomas Aquinas died before reaching the half-century mark, but that did not prevent him from publishing his "Summa Theologica." He rivaled Augustine in theological fame and surpassed all the scholastics in influence. If you scratch his sentences, Aristotle and Neo-Platonism reappear. Aristotle related wealth to the "full expression of personality." The higher life depended on material wealth. Common ownership of this landed wealth was inferior to some degree of private property. A person who owns his property will be more interested in it and more satisfied with life. The possessor of property must exercise both self-control and some measure of liberality. A society in which each one

owns will be more unified in sentiment than one in which no one owns. Private property is, therefore, according to Aristotle, the "instrument of personality."

Thomas Aquinas did not support the Augustinian hypothesis that the state is contrary to natural law and private property its creation. The state is a natural institution whose purpose is the greater good of each member and whose king exists for the sake of the kingdom and subject to the priesthood and pope. As for private property, human reason added it to natural law. Man has a right to acquire and distribute property, but he has no right to unlimited ownership. He may not completely devote it to his own selfish purposes. He has a right only to what he needs. Property must be held for common use. The rich man dispenses rather than possesses. The Christian is an administrator or steward of wealth. In the presence of necessity, Thomas Aquinas turned radical. All things then become common. Whereas Augustine did not for a moment allow theft from the wealthy and the greedy to meet the needs of the poor, Thomas held that extreme need justifies theft of "two kinds, for oneself and for him who is in want."

Much of this thinking assumed a world in which there was one church and one empire with Rome as its center. But modern states and national churches were in the offing. The old world was being recovered. Shortly a new world would be discovered. A new geog-

raphy, a new astronomy, new theories of the state, a new theology, and a new social and economic attitude would knock for admittance on the worn gates of the medieval world. The ships on the new seven seas would carry cargoes of spices and pearls and opium. The bowels of the earth would yield gold, silver, coal, iron, coffee, oil, in fabulous quantities. The bankers would expand their loans. Medieval theories of interest, economics, society, government, church, and private property, would be abandoned. And Protestantism, entering into a closer affiliation with the spirit of the new age and possessing a religious attitude more susceptible to impressions from the changing environment than that of the more slowly evolving Roman Catholic Church, would become to a greater extent than Roman Catholicism the religious carrier of the germ of the modern age.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Puritan Approval of Wealth

You may work for God to become rich.

To desire to be poor is the same as to desire to be sick.—BAXTER.

And the Lorde was with Joseph, and he was a luckie felowe.—BIBLE.

The eighth commandment requireth the lawful procuring and furthering the wealth and outward estate of ourselves and others.

—WESTMINSTER SHORTER CATECHISM.

COMMENTING on the eighth commandment, Luther says: "We should so fear and love God as not to take our neighbor's money or property, nor get it by false ware or dealing, but help him to improve and protect his property and livelihood." Conversely our neighbor should assist us in maintaining our property rights. Luther vigorously repudiated community of property. A Christian might hold property with inviolate conscience. Even priests had a right to possess private property. Renunciation of property by no means implies perfection. Christian perfection certainly demands conformity to civil law rather than contempt for it. But civil laws authorize the Christian to hold property.

Christian perfection is concerned with fear of God, faith, and disposition. Abraham, David, and Daniel were wealthy, and they exercised civil power. They were more perfect than any hermits. There is no passage in the Bible commanding that property be common. Wiclif was insane when he said that priests should not be permitted to hold property.

Martin Luther formed the transition from the medieval theory of property to the Puritan approval of wealth in another way. The customary rendering of Ecclesiasticus 11:20 f. had been: "But trust God and stay in thy *place*." Luther altered this to: "Do thou trust God and remain in thy *calling*." He used the word "*Beruf*." But since both "*Beruf*" and "calling" were religiously colored and meant a limited, circumscribed vocation in which God was concerned, Luther by his translation imposed religious value on a secular idea. To put it another way, Luther secularized the idea of vocation. The result was that Protestanism began to define the essential content of the ethical ideal to be the fulfillment of one's duty in the worldly calling. The daily task became a religious undertaking. The idea of calling gave expression to the fundamental dogma of Protestantism that the faithful performance of one's secular duties is the only way to please God. But this theory of life repudiated the Catholic division of Christian ethics into "things commanded" and "things counseled" and substituted secular asceticism for monastic

asceticism. Thus the common life of man became ethical and the modern world appeared on the horizon.

John Calvin greatly strengthened the Protestant line of defense. He contended that renunciation of property could not signify perfection, because Paul added love to renunciation to give it value. Nor would the Genevan reformer accept the current interpretation of Christ's command to the rich young man to sell all. He insisted that Christ was dealing with an avaricious young man under the control of his wealth. In that case the domination could be broken only by complete separation from Mammon. Christians should accumulate wealth but not by injustice or by cruelty, regardless of right or wrong. Christians should always be charitable. Since the whole earth was blessed by God, life as such is a divine allotment. It is also a task. For the Christian exists for the greater glory of God. Every social task is a service of God. The entire life should be holy. Business may be engaged in. Material progress is desirable. The commercial spirit should merely be kept in touch with religion. A little later ministers advised predestined saints who were perplexed over their predestination to be ceaselessly active in their vocation or business and thus to rid themselves of doubt. Commercial enterprise was in this way harnessed up with religion.

Puritanism not only saw the point in the Luther-Calvin attitude toward private property but was a part

of the economic expansion of the sixteenth and following centuries. It built the main fortifications for the new defense of wealth. The Westminster Shorter Catechism recast "Thou shalt not steal" into this very positive exhortation to grow wealthy. "The eighth commandment requireth the lawful procuring and furthering the wealth and outward estate of ourselves and others. The eighth commandment forbiddeth whatsoever doth, or may, unjustly hinder our own or our neighbor's wealth or outward estate." That is clear as crystal. Puritanism was not ashamed of wealth. It approved acquisition. Its trademark was, "Made by Puritans for the Greater Glory of God." All thought and action were centered on eternal salvation. Hence the distinction between "things commanded" and "things counseled" was abrogated. The Puritan was to be continuously at work for God. Christian asceticism had returned from the solitude of the convent to the markets of the world. Daily life was to be transformed into a rationalized mode of living in the world without being of or for the world.

What, then, was the Puritan philosophy of property and in what ways did it promote the modern economic and industrial development?

English Puritanism has been called "English Hebraism," and with justice. For it based its case on the Old Testament. But the Old Testament and especially the decalogue divinely sanction private property. The

Old Testament attracted Puritanism because it regarded the Mosaic law as in force except as to the ceremonial law and the specifically Jewish commandments. In this way the statements in the Old Testament not suited to the Puritan view of life were eliminated, and all those passages required for its confirmation were available. The Puritan's selective employment of the Old Testament caused him to peruse Job, Proverbs, and some of the Psalms. The Old Testament supported the theory that material prosperity was an indication of the favor of God. The prosperity of reprobates could be viewed as part of the hardening process which all the more certified their damnation. The Old Testament rather exalted the spirit of self-righteousness and legalism. Above all, the Old Testament differentiated between the godly and the ungodly and helped the Puritan to conclude that he was the chosen vessel of God. "And the Lorde was with Joseph, and he was a luckie felowe."

There will always be rich and poor, high and low, the Puritan believed, for Jesus had said, "The poor you have always with you." But riches are a gift of God and a blessing. "You may labor to be rich for God though not for the flesh and sin." Riches may be sought in subordination to higher things. "You may labor in that manner as tendeth most to your success and lawful gain: you are bound to improve all your master's talents; but then your end must be that you

may be better provided to do God's service, and may do the more good with what you have. *If God show you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way (without wrong to your soul, or to any other), if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's steward,* and to accept gifts, and use them for him when he requireth it."

Riches are a snare. They tempt men to be contented and satisfied and to enjoy life. "It is a sin to desire riches as worldlings and sensualists do, for the provision and maintenance of fleshly lusts and pride; but it is no sin, but a duty, to labor not only for labor's sake, formally resting in the act done, but for that honest increase and provision, which is the end of our labors; and therefore to choose a gainful calling rather than another, that we may be able to do good, and relieve the poor."

Riches must be administered for God and in such a way as to yield Him the largest possible return on His investment. "That man is not a good steward who refuses to tread the path to greater riches where no damage to his soul or no illegality is present. You may work for God to become rich. To desire to be poor is the same as to desire to be sick. Begging is not only laziness but sin against brotherly love." Even John Wesley urged his followers to gain all they could: "Gain all you can, by common sense, by using in your

business all the understanding which God has given you. It is amazing to observe how few do this; *how men run on in the same dull track with their forefathers*. But whatever they do who know not God, this is no rule for you. It is a shame for a Christian not to improve upon them, in whatever he takes in hand."

"Beware of thinking all your own that you possess, and of living accordingly. It is a mistake that many people who have credit fall into. To prevent this, keep an exact account for some time, both of your expenses and your income. If you take the pains at first to mention particulars, it will have this good effect: you will discover how wonderfully small, trifling expenses mount up to large sums, and will discern what might have been, and may for the future be saved, without occasioning any great inconvenience"—thus Benjamin Franklin advised.

All carelessness about wealth is sinful. But the heaviest sin is waste of time. "Vain recreation, dressings, feastings, idle talk, unprofitable company, sleep," beyond six to eight hours, are to be avoided. God has commanded labor. Work prevents gluttony, drunkenness, and other vices. Work is the purpose of life. One who does not work shall not eat. A certain calling is best. Lack of calling is evil.

"Be very watchful redeemers of your time, and make conscience of every hour and minute, that you lose it not, but spend it in the best and most serviceable man-

ner you can." Benjamin Franklin put it: "Remember, that *time* is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labor, and goes abroad, or sits idle, one half of that day, though he spend but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon that the only expense; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides." The battle was against sport and play not in agreement with a rational view of life, against "idle talk," "superfluities," "vain ostentations," paying for amusements. Play that maintained or increased physical ability was permissible.

The waste of money is heinous. "Understand well the aggravations of the sin of prodigality; viz.:

"1. It is a wasting of that which is none of our own, and a robbing of God of the use or service due to him in the improvement of his gifts. They are his and not ours; and according to his pleasure only must be used. 2. It is a robbing of the poor of that which the common Lord of the world hath appointed for them in his law; and they will have their action in heaven against the prodigal. 3. It is inhuman vice, to waste that upon pleasures, pride, and needless things, which so many distressed persons stand in need of. 4. It is an injury to the commonwealth, which is weakened by the wasteful. *And the covetous themselves (that are not oppressors) are much better members of public societies than the prodigal!* 5. It feedeth a life of other vice and wickedness: It is spending of God's gift to feed those lusts

which he abhorreth. 6. It usually engageth many others in trades and labors which are unprofitable, that they may serve the lusts of these sensual prodigals. 7. And in conclusion, it prepareth a sad account for those wretches, when they must answer at the bar of God how they have used all his gifts and talents."

There must be no sin in the acquisition of wealth, and money must be spent on useful things. Unrestricted enjoyment of possessions was opposed. Consumption was limited. Extravagance and luxury were condemned. Not wealth but the temptations of wealth were criticized. The rich were not to mortify themselves but to use their wealth for necessary and practically useful things. Puritan thrift denoted the accumulation of capital which because it could not be expended on luxuries had to be used for investment purposes.

Both the state and the church are entitled to some of man's wealth. "You may cast off all such excess of worldly cares or business as unnecessarily hinder you in spiritual things; but you may not cast off all bodily employment and mental labor in which you may serve the common good. Every one that is a member of church or commonwealth, must employ their parts to the utmost for the good of the church or commonwealth: *public service is God's greatest service. To neglect this, and say I will pray and meditate, is as if your servant should refuse your greatest work, and tie himself to some lesser, easy part.* And God hath com-

manded you some way or other to labor for your daily bread, and not live as drones on the sweat of others only. . . . He that under the pretense of religion withdraweth from converse and forbeareth to do good to others and only liveth unto himself, and his own soul, doth make religion a pretense against charity and the works of charity which are a great part of Christianity."

Thus Puritanism stood for individualism, insisted that man as a steward of God was accountable for his capacity, time, and wealth, condemned worldly living, taught that the increase in wealth which resulted from faithfulness in one's calling demonstrated the blessing of God, regarded constant and systematic daily work as visible evidence of perseverance and orthodoxy. Tremendous dangers lurked in the last two emphases. Moreover, Puritanism lacked social vision. It failed to recognize the social nature of all wealth and consequently did not propose serious moral tests of ownership.

The Puritan attitude toward the enslavement of human beings amply substantiates this judgment. New England Puritans attempted to enslave the native Indians. But the American Indian was not suited to hard work. The emperor Charles V rated the economic value of the American Indian as one-fourth that of the African negro. The religion of the Puritan did not interfere with the indenturing of poor white servants.

Cromwell sold Irishmen as slaves in the Barbados. His agents disposed of Irish youths and maidens to the English planters in the West Indies. In 1777 John Adams described the "condition of the laboring poor in most countries—*particularly that of the fisherman of the northern states*—to be as abject as that of slavery." From 1502 on, the question of African slavery was before the western world. African negroes were imported into England for the first time in 1562. In 1619 the English settlement at Jamestown made the enslavement of Africans a British colonial problem. A century later 25,000 African slaves annually were being imported into the British colonies in North America. Twice in the eighteenth century there were slave insurrections in New York. Beard estimates that at the time of the Revolutionary War the ratio of African slaves to whites was, in New England, one to fifty; in New York, one to six; in Delaware and Pennsylvania, one to five; in the southern British colonies, one to one. But the climate, soil, and types of crops in New England, rather than a superior kind of religion or morality, were responsible for the more favorable northern percentage. Negro slaves were a luxury in the North. The slavery of African negroes was economically profitable only in the cotton- and tobacco-growing colonies. Indeed, the inhabitants of Rhode Island had perfected a very profitable trade triangle. They "distilled molasses from the West Indies into rum, exchanged the

rum for African slaves, and sold the negroes to southern planters." Was it not the Calvinist and noted evangelist, George Whitefield, who urged slavery on the colony of Georgia and died in personal possession of more than seventy slaves? Did not Thomas Jefferson sponsor the assertion that the original draft of the Declaration of Independence contained a protest against slavery, but that the protest was omitted from its final form, not only because South Carolina and Georgia so insisted, but because the *"northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under those censures, for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others"?*

About this time various Christian groups were filing protests against slavery. In 1793 Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin. Slave labor became profitable. Four decades later, Christian stalwarts in the North as well as in the South were demonstrating the righteousness of slavery from the Bible. Only on the eve of the Civil War were there denominational disruptions on account of slavery. In 1844 the Baptist Triennial Convention declared itself in favor of neutrality with reference to slavery: "We disclaim all sanction either expressed or implied, whether of slavery or anti-slavery, but as individuals we are perfectly free both to express and promote our own views on these subjects in a Christian manner and spirit." Northern Methodists formed

new slave-holding conferences in southern territory even subsequently to disruption and passed "no resolution absolutely forbidding slave-holding until 1864."

The ancient Hebrew never anticipated such a romantic career for his simple commandment, "Thou shalt not steal."

CHAPTER XXIV

From Bearing False Witness to Genuineness

You shall not give false evidence against a fellow countryman.

Who shall dwell with God? He that slandereth not with his tongue.—BIBLE.

Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him,
And makes me poor indeed.—SHAKESPEARE.

We should so fear and love God as not to belie, betray, or slander our neighbor, nor injure his character, but defend him, and put the most charitable construction on all his actions.—LUTHER.

THE power of the spoken word is not hard to measure. "A mild reply turns wrath aside, but a sharp word will stir up anger. Folly gushes from the discourse of fools, and wild words wound."

Virgil aptly describes Rumor:

Fame, far the swiftest of all mischiefs bred;
Speed gives her force; she strengthens as she flies.
Small first through fear, she lifts a loftier head,
Her forehead in the clouds, on earth her tread,
Swift-winged, swift-footed, of enormous girth,
Huge, horrible, deformed, a giantess from birth.

As many feathers as her form surround,
Strange sight! peep forth so many watchful eyes,
So many mouths and tattling tongues resound,
So many ears among her plumes uprise.
By night with shrieks 'twixt heaven and earth she flies,
Nor suffers sleep her eyelids to subdue;
By day, the terror of great towns, she spies
From towers and housetops, perched aloft in view,
Fond of the false and foul, yet herald of the true.[1]

When public opinion rather than the conclusions of the court or jury determined man's status in society, it was reputation that made life worth while. The idle repetition of a baseless rumor then did irreparable damage. Exaggeration was unavoidable. Guilt was magnified. Misdemeanors of which one was not guilty were propagated. Unfair interpretations were placed on innocent statements and unnecessary publicity given to faults. Backbiting was an insidious type of slander, making defense impossible. It "ate up another person piecemeal." The individual required protection against slander, defamation, detraction, and gossip.

When public tribunals were gradually established to defend the rights of the members of the group, false witness became a forensic matter. Such a condition of affairs is taken for granted in the ninth commandment. Certain cautions in the taking of evidence were necessary. Malicious evidence must not be admitted. The

[1] Translation by E. Fairfax Taylor.

opinion of the majority, if considered erroneous, must not be supported by a weak judge. Neither was partiality to be shown toward a poor man's plea. Facts, not sentiment, were to be decisive.

To appear in court was to appear before Yahweh, before priests and presiding judge. Apparently only men were involved. Women, children, and servants could not testify. Two witnesses of good repute were necessary to establish the guilt of the accused. The false witness had to be treated as he "meant his fellow to be treated. . . . You must have no mercy upon him; life for life, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a foot for a foot." Justice must be meted out to him. Josephus bases the refusal to admit the testimony of women on the "levity and boldness of their sex," and the rejection of that of servants on the probability that "they may not speak truth, either out of hope for gain, or fear of punishment." A slave would be a prejudiced witness.

Christianity has applied the ninth commandment not only to giving false evidence in a court of justice but also to "lies and hypocrisy; detraction, slander; false suspicion and rash judgment." In the words of the Westminster Shorter Catechism, this commandment "requireth the maintaining and promoting of truth between man and man, and of our own and our neighbor's good name, especially in witness bearing, and for-

biddeth whatsoever is prejudicial to truth or injurious to our own or our neighbor's good name."

But numerous literary forgeries and famous lies convict leading Christians of every century of transgressing the ninth commandment. Truth may be covered up for a time, but the avenging future turns on the revealing searchlight. Cyprian's "On the Unity of the Christian Church" and the sixth canon of the Council of Nicaea were interpolated in behalf of the theory of the primacy of Rome. Today we clearly discern what is original and what is secondary. Mommsen alone discovered over a thousand spurious Neapolitan inscriptions. Thousands of spurious or suspected inscriptions have been revealed through the careful work on the Latin Corpus. The forged donation of Constantine, first used A.D. 778 and regarded as authentic for centuries, legally separated the eastern emperor from his sovereignty over Rome and the West. The amount of spurious material in the pseudo-Isidorian decretals amazes one who is innocent of the methods employed to build up the inviolable position of the medieval bishops with reference to both the civil government and their spiritual colleagues. The mysteries of eastern Christianity and western scholasticism were profoundly influenced by writings ascribed to Dionysius, the Areopagite, the disciple of Paul, but actually composed hundreds of years after the death of Paul.

Philip of Hesse was advised by Martin Luther to tell a "good stout lie." Philip had been for years the political genius of the German reformation. He was not in love with his homely and sickly wife Christina. He was attracted to Margarethe von Saale. The church was opposed to divorce. Therefore bigamy seemed to be a solution of his problem. But was bigamy permissible? Various theologians, when consulted, recalled that the patriarchs of Old Testament fame, who were Christians before Christianity appeared, had lived in polygamy under the approval of God. They further held that polygamy was preferable to divorce. But the laws of the empire made bigamy a capital offense. Hence Philip needed both political and moral support. The mother of Margarethe favored the wedding only on the condition that Luther and Melanchthon would be present to bless the nuptials. These reformers held that monogamy was the original intention of God, that polygamy was a concession after the fall, that it would be extraordinarily scandalous for Philip as ruler of Hesse and leading figure in Germany to commit bigamy. On the other hand, they were of the opinion that what the law of Moses permitted was not forbidden in the gospel. In an exceptional case, bigamy might not be wrong before God, although men might judge it a sin. Of course Philip was married to Margarethe. All Germany rang with the scandal. The related royal house was furious. Melanchthon fell ill. Luther and

others now wished they had not become mixed up in the affair and knew of no other escape from their dilemma than to deny the facts. "What would it matter if, for the sake of greater good and of the Christian church, one were to tell a big lie?" asked Martin Luther.

There is no consensus of opinion in Christianity as to what constitutes lying. Statements like the following may be found in various Christian manuals of ethics: "A lie is the deliberate and intentional denial of the truth; a lie is an utterance by which a man purposely places himself in contradiction to what he thinks; not even to save the whole world have we a right to lie; truthfulness is readiness to recognize facts." Many Christian writers are not at all certain that a criminal or a maniac is in such fellowship with his victims as to be entitled to the facts and hold that charity or duty may dictate the concealment of the truth, as in the case of a panic resulting from a fire in a theater or the relation of a physician to his patient. They also insist on discriminating between verbal truthfulness and genuineness. Suppose such an instance as this: A man has not remained faithful to his marriage vow. He is questioned about the matter by his wife. He replies: "I have not broken the marriage relationship." But her suspicions are not allayed. Some weeks later the subject again comes up for discussion. During this debate he insists, "I am not guilty of any crime of the

kind." His wife is not satisfied with this affirmation of innocence. On a later occasion he finally disposes of the situation by saying, "I have not been unfaithful to you." Did the husband tell the truth?

Two general answers have been given by Christian authorities to this question. One emphasizes verbal truthfulness; the other, inner attitude toward truth. According to the former view, the marriage was still legally intact when the husband was first asked about his infidelity. Therefore his act could not have broken it. Prior to answering the second time, the husband had confessed his sin to an ecclesiastical authority. God had forgiven him. His conscience was free. The sin was as if it had never been. Hence the husband was justified in saying, "I am not guilty of any crime of the kind." Since the matter had been satisfactorily adjusted with God and with his conscience and with the church, he was no longer under obligation to confess his fault to his wife. She was not entitled to know. Therefore he could even assert his fidelity to the marriage vow. All the way through the debate with his wife the husband has so carefully chosen his words that he has remained literally truthful. Mental reservations enabled him to explain to himself just what he meant.

The other interpretation holds that his wife was entitled to know the facts, because she had been wronged. Moreover, she had been most thoroughly deceived. The husband knew he was equivocating and practicing

sharpness and insincerity. Not only had he proved himself a deceiver, but he had not repented. His confession had been external only. His heart had not been changed. He had confused form with substance. His disposition had not been at all virtuous. "Moral law is imposed by our own moral judgment."

The difference between these two attitudes toward truth amounts to this. The individual may not rid himself of the obligation to reach his own decision by an appeal to ecclesiastical authority. Truthfulness is not a question of legalism, literalism, and externalism, but of inner sanction, attitude, and genuineness. When in doubt a person has no right to follow the decision of some notable Christian teacher. He must go on wrestling with his own problem whether the outcome be discernment of duty or prolongation of the agony.[2]

The ninth commandment is also concerned with the present controversy within Christianity between fundamentalism and liberalism. The true history of both the creeds and confessions of faith on the one hand and of the Bible on the other is becoming known. Shall it be denied or acknowledged? If, for example, the Apostles' Creed, the oldest of the Christian creeds, was not formulated by the apostles but a century later by nascent Catholicism in reaction to a violent attempt on the part of Gnosticism to cut the connection between Christianity

[2] The problem is fully discussed in Wilhelm Herrmann's "Faith and Morals."

and its past, should Christian youngsters still be told that Peter said, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth," and Matthias, "And the life everlasting"? If "he descended into hell" did not get into the Apostles' Creed until the late fourth century and has meant anything from "buried" and "the intensity of Christ's suffering on the cross," to an actual descent of the slain Jesus to the realm of the dead, is it truthful to leave boys and girls under the impression that Thomas said, "He descended into hell, the third day he rose from the dead"? If "the communion of saints" does not appear in the Apostles' Creed until the middle of the sixth century and there is no unanimity of interpretation as to its meaning discoverable, shall Christian children be taught that Matthew spoke of "the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints"?

In recent decades the books of the Bible have been subjected to critical scrutiny, and much progress has been made in understanding the environment within which they were born. The uniqueness of the vocabulary of the New Testament has suffered serious impairment. The differences in approach to the problems of religion and of Christianity on the part of New Testament writers have not escaped detection. The impossibility of fashioning an exact system of theology out of occasional writings of Paul and the reminiscences of the gospels has often been acknowledged. Jesus' view is no longer identified with that of his earliest inter-

preters. The gospel of Jesus is sharply discriminated from the gospel concerning Jesus. In a word, the stratification of the Bible may still be debated, but the verdict of history has been rendered. The appreciation of the Bible as literature would alone suffice to call in question the older theory of inspiration.

Probably the special attention given to the formation of the Old Testament and the New Testament has done most to cause the disintegration of age-long assumptions. For when one becomes aware of the long and hesitating process which finally resulted in the establishment of a sacred list of Old Testament books and New Testament books, "selection" becomes a meaningful word in the Christian vocabulary. That it required seven and one-half centuries to reach something like unanimity with reference to the number of books to be included within the Hebrew Old Testament and especially that the ultimate limits of the Old Testament were "fixed by Jewish scribism"—facts like these immediately modify one's attitude toward the Bible. Since the debate concerning the limits of the New Testament continued in vigorous fashion to the end of the fourth century and was reopened at the period of the Reformation, the *semper ubique idem* of the past have vanished.

If the four gospels were not the only gospels known to the primitive church, if the New Testament list of books was still being debated in the fourth century, if

the synoptic gospels assign the crucifixion of Jesus to Nisan 15 and the Gospel of John assigns it to Nisan 14, if the Johannine gospel does not describe the baptism of Jesus, if Marcion drew up a list of Pauline writings, if the verdict of Athanasius had not a little to do with retaining the Revelation of John in the New Testament canon—if these things are true, of just what advantage is it to deny them?

Does not the ninth commandment as interpreted by Christians demand that the demonstrated history of the creeds and of the Bible be accepted and taught? The modern love of truth, search for truth, and joy because of the discovery of truth, answer "yes." And saints, apostles, martyrs, silently petition modern Christianity not to break faith with the early age!

CHAPTER XXV

From Evil Deed and Desire to Defense of the Status Quo

> Neither shall any one try for your land when you go up to appear in the presence of Yahweh your God thrice each year.
>
> Thou shalt not covet.—BIBLE.
>
> The tenth commandment requireth the full contentment with our own condition, with a right and charitable frame of spirit toward our neighbor and all that is his.
>
> The tenth commandment forbiddeth all discontentment with our own estate, envying or grieving at the good of our neighbor, and all inordinate motions or affections to anything that is his.
>
> —WESTMINSTER SHORTER CATECHISM.

THE tenth commandment contains more than one puzzle. The other commandments are somewhat specific, involving God, images, the name of God, the sabbath, honoring of parents, killing, marriage, theft, false witness. This commandment is very inclusive. Overt words and actions are the concern of the other commandments. This commandment has to do with feeling, "with the hidden springs of thought and action." No one but myself need know when I have transgressed this commandment. One may be regarded as very law-abiding and pious, and yet have broken this commandment re-

peatedly. If this commandment originally had to do with the hidden desire that provokes infidelity, theft, and prevarication, if "to covet" even at first referred to disposition, then it is hard to appreciate the ethical development of the Hebrews and the necessity of Jesus' warning that "nothing outside a man can defile him by entering him; it is what comes from him that defiles him. From within, from the heart of man, the designs of evil come: sexual vice, stealing, murder, adultery, lust, malice, deceit, sensuality, envying, slander, arrogance, recklessness, all these evils issue from within." Elsewhere in the Old Testament righteousness is external rather than a matter of inward attitude. Moreover, the verb "to covet" is a good or bad word according to the context. Yahweh himself coveted Mt. Sion. His rulings were to be coveted. Paul exhorted Christians to covet the higher talents.

It is difficult to discern the original background of the tenth commandment. Its ancestor is sometimes taken to be a prohibition of usury. The desire for money as the root of evil would then be proscribed. Another interpretation has recourse to a verse in the thirty-fourth chapter of Exodus which forbids the appropriation of the land of a fellow Hebrew who happens to be absent, fulfilling a vow to Yahweh. Squatting on a piece of land temporarily belonging to another would then be forbidden. At any rate the coveting of the tenth commandment is limited to lust of the

property of a fellow countryman, namely, his wife, house, field, servants, stock, or anything else he may happen to possess.

In later Judaism and the writings of the New Testament, covetousness is associated with and sometimes identified with idolatry. "The love of money leadeth to idolatry; because, when led astray through money, men name as gods those who are not gods, and it causeth him who hath it to fall into madness." "The covetous man who is an idolater" and "covetousness which is idolatry" are expressions of Paul. Apparently the covetous man has become the man who is under the power of money, money-mad. He is one who has accepted the sovereignty of Mammon. He has turned from the worship of the true God to the worship of the god of wealth. And since God and Mammon are opposed to each other, he has thereby become an idolater.

The ten commandments were originally concerned with relations between the Hebrews and Yahweh and between Hebrew and Hebrew. "Neighbor" in both the ninth and tenth commandments signifies "fellow countryman." Jesus of Nazareth destroyed the old meaning of "neighbor." A certain jurist got up to tempt Jesus. He asked what he must do to inherit life eternal. Compelled to answer his own question, the jurist combined two Old Testament passages, one from the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy and the other from the nineteenth

chapter of Leviticus, and replied, "You must love the Lord your God with your whole heart, with your whole soul, with your whole strength, and with your whole mind. Also your neighbor as yourself." Jesus approved the answer, but quoted a little further from the same Old Testament: "*Do that and you will live.*"

Then came the poser by the jurist, "But who is my neighbor?"

"Well, let us examine that question a little. I will tell you a story with a moral, make a personal appeal to your conscience and draw an answer from you, my friend. The other day, on this dangerous road over here between Jerusalem and Jericho, a man was robbed, beaten, and left helpless. Two holy men approached the place where he lay. One was a priest, the other was a Levite. Both had just served God in the temple. The priest saw the helpless man but went by on the other side. The Levite came to the place, looked at him, and returned to the road. As holy men these two ran less risk of attack by the same robbers than a layman. They had every reason to sympathize with the one robbed and beaten. Ordinarily one journeying from Jerusalem to Jericho would be a fellow countryman. They simply neglected to do the good. Of course they did not commit any illegal act. They did not make themselves liable to punishment by refusing to help the man in need. They just failed to be friends. A little later a Samaritan, a sinner and a heretic, ap-

proached the place where the mutilated man lay. This vile mongrel, at considerable risk to his life, stopped, saw the need of the man, had compassion, and helped him. He did not raise the question of nationality. He did not dodge friendship by an appeal to nationality. Now, in the story I have just told you, who was neighbor to the victim of the robbers?"

"According to our holy Scriptures, the priest and the Levite were and the Samaritan was not," soliloquized the jurist. "But if I say so, Jesus will ask, 'Why then did they not help him?' I do not care to put my foot in that trap." So he answered up very boldly, "He who did the kindness." "Samaritan" did not pass over his lips!

"Exactly! Now, my friend, instead of worrying about who is your neighbor, about academic questions, practice sacrificial love and become a neighbor to all men."

After that, a neighbor was no longer a fellow countryman, but a person who acted neighborly.

Paul's use of the tenth commandment in the seventh chapter of Romans has given it enduring fame. The great apostle to the Gentiles who could boast that he was a strict Pharisee and blameless "as touching the righteousness which is in the law" knew also the hidden power of this tenth commandment. For a time he had been following his own bent. Conscience was offering no criticism. Lurking Sin within him was inactive and

dormant. He wanted to do good. He thought he was. Then one day he became acquainted with the prohibition, "Thou shalt not covet." Immediately all the covetousness and illicit desire within him were stirred into activity, and he became conscious of all manner of covetousness. The state of innocence was over. The feeling of guilt was overwhelming. A commandment which God had intended as a way to life was becoming in Paul's experience a highway to death. As he finally explained it, Sin used this commandment to betray him and make him conscious ever thereafter that he was doing the things his real self hated. So the tenth commandment discovered unto Paul that two great powers were striving for mastery within him, the Power of Sin and Death and the Power of Reason and Conscience. From this conflict he found no relief until he met the Deliverer one day about noon on the road to Damascus.

Luther judged that this commandment was given "not for rogues in the eyes of the world, but just for the most pious, who wish to be praised and be called honest, upright people who have not offended against the former commandments, as especially the Jews claimed to be; and even now for many great noblemen, gentlemen, and princes," and that it means that we "should not try to defraud our neighbor of his inheritance or home, nor obtain it under pretext of legal right, but aid and assist him to keep it . . . as not to

detach, extort, or alienate from our neighbor his wife, servants, or cattle, but induce them to stay and do their duty."

Calvin held that the tenth commandment commands the "*conceptions of our minds*" to be subject to the law of love. The other commandments forbid "our minds to be inclined and persuaded to anger, hatred, adultery, rapine, and falsehood." The tenth commandment prohibits our minds "from being instigated to these vices."

In A.D. 1647, the Westminster Assembly prepared the Westminster Shorter Catechism. It was adopted by most of the Calvinistic churches using the English language. It became a best seller and was translated into Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and other languages. With the Small Catechism of Luther and the Heidelberg Catechism it forms the Protestant catechetical triumvirate. Now this catechism is unique in its exposition of the tenth commandment. "The tenth commandment requireth full contentment with our own condition, with a right and charitable frame of spirit toward our neighbor, and all that is his. The tenth commandment forbiddeth all discontentment with our own estate, envying or grieving at the good of our neighbor, and all inordinate motions and affections to anything that is his."

Among the proof-texts quoted to prove what is meant by "full contentment with our condition" are these: "Be content with such things as ye have; godli-

ness with contentment is great gain; love beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; for two boons from thy hand, I cry, put lies and falsehood far from me, give neither wealth nor poverty, but feed me with the good I need; lest I be full and disclaim thee, or sink to poverty and steal, discrediting my God."

The polemic against discontentment is conducted by reference to situations in the history of Israel containing horrible judgments on the avaricious and murmurers. Had not Paul said, "And you must not murmur as some of them did—*only to be destroyed by the Destroying angel.* It all happened to them by way of warning for others, and *it was written down for the purpose of instructing us whose lot has been cast in the closing hours of the world.*" Israel was in the desert far away from the flesh-pots of Egypt. Israel wanted meat for food and did a good deal of complaining to get it. Yahweh's anger blazed forth. A heavy wind blew in quails. They covered the ground about a day's journey on either side of the camp and three feet high. The Hebrews gathered quails. The least number gathered, when weighed, amounted to a hundred bushels. They ate quails until they loathed them. But before they finished the quails, Yahweh slaughtered them with a terrible plague. They called the place "Graves-of-the-Greedy." Spies despatched by Moses to spy out the land of Canaan returned with a bad report. "The

land over which we have gone as spies is a land that starves its inhabitants to death," they said. All the community wailed aloud. All Israelites grumbled against Moses and Aaron. Yahweh punished them by letting the corpses of all Hebrews over twenty rot in the sands of the desert. On another occasion when Israel grew impatient over the wretched food Yahweh was giving them, Yahweh sent stinging serpents among them who bit the people, till many an Israelite died. Ahab's plot against Naboth was not overlooked. Ahab desired the vineyard of Naboth. His wife Jezebel arranged things. Naboth was falsely accused of cursing God and the king and was stoned to death. Ahab went to take over the vineyard. But the prophet of Yahweh met Ahab and said, "Where dogs licked up the blood of Naboth, there shall dogs lick up your own blood." And so it came to pass. Haman the Persian official was jealous of Mordecai the Jew. His honors amounted to nothing as long as Mordecai was sitting at the king's gate. So he had a gallows eighty feet high constructed for Mordecai. But Haman was hanged thereon.

Every youth at work on the Westminster Shorter Catechism and the elucidation thereof was thus made to feel the seriousness of "full contentment with our condition" and "all discontentment with our own estate." But this interpretation of the tenth commandment was a belated discovery. It is one thing to lust after what our neighbor possesses. It is quite another

matter for one to conclude that his earthly lot must forever remain what it is. This would be an inhibition of all progress, on the part of those who happen to be at the foot of the class. Yet it forms an eloquent defense of the *status quo*. God intends what is. The rich may remain wealthy, and the poor must remain hungry. On the one hand, man may strive to be rich for God; on the other man must be fully contented with his poverty and not think of murmuring. One could get rich for God and then forget about God. Encouraged by this interpretation of the tenth commandment, one remained fully contented with his condition. Believing that the poverty of one's neighbors was likewise foreordained by God, one could readily remain utterly callous to all the inequalities of life and to the suffering of the weak and helpless.

In the renaissance of English industry toward the end of the eighteenth century, the bequest of seventeenth-century Puritanism became manifest. The older ideals had vanished. One "makes the best of both worlds." Conscience was conformed to the requirements of a comfortable life. The emphasis was on legality. Observe the formalities, engage in no objectionable business. The employer had at his disposal sober, capable, godly laborers who regarded their work as divinely ordained. Religion assured him that the unequal distribution of wealth is a divine mystery not to be understood by the mind of man. Since people con-

tinue obedient to God only when poor and work only when compelled by need, "productivity" seemed indissolubly joined to low wages. It had from a remote past been taught that every kind of faithful work was well-pleasing to God. Secular asceticism was offering no new maxims at this point, but it intensified the conviction by insisting that the only way to demonstrate one's predestination to bliss was fidelity in one's calling, and it also legalized the exploitation of this willingness to work by interpreting the acquisition of wealth as a calling. Both this exclusive seeking of the kingdom of God through fidelity in labor regarded as a calling and the rigid asceticism imposed on the proletariat by church discipline increased "productivity" from the capitalistic point of view—so Weber concluded. Wood has also observed that "the Puritan did not press any strong moral criticism of ownership. He did not regard misuse as impairing a man's right to his property. The teaching of Wiclif found no immediate echo in the Reformation."

CHAPTER XXVI

The Findings

An honest tale speeds best being plainly told.
—SHAKESPEARE.

THE primary purpose of this study was to tell the true story of the ten commandments. The results of the investigation may now be summarized.

1. *The various texts of the traditional ten commandments, both in the Hebrew and in the Greek, contain numerous variations.*

The text of the decalogue found in Deuteronomy 5 diverges at many points from that of the conventional decalogue of Exodus 20. The Greek translation in both instances departs from our Hebrew text. And that is not all. The Nash Papyrus, discovered in Egypt in 1902, containing the ten commandments, is assigned to the late first century of the Christian era but represents a Hebrew text of the second century before Christ. Thus it is about seven hundred years older than the oldest Hebrew manuscript of the Bible. Its text is not in verbal agreement with either Exodus 20 or Deuteronomy 5, although it tends to agree with Deuteronomy against Exodus. Finally, the Samaritan Pentateuch,

giving the Hebrew text of the fourth century before Christ, fails to agree completely with any of these texts of the ten commandments.

Two conclusions are obvious. The Westminster Confession of Faith is sorely in need of revision at the place where it says, "The Old Testament in Hebrew . . . and the New Testament in Greek being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all the ages, are therefore authentical." Those Christian communions which have employed the text of Exodus as standard for the decalogue have obtained somewhat divergent results in the interpretation of the decalogue from those which have used the text of Deuteronomy 5.

2. *Four decalogues rather than two are discernible in the Old Testament.*

The traditional decalogues of Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 must be compared with those of Exodus 23 and 34. The agricultural setting of the latter two is very clear. Their more primitive character is also plain. Their time of origin would seem to have been the period of the conquest of Canaan. Hence the whole problem of the origin of the traditional decalogues has become far more complicated.

3. *There are both Egyptian and Babylonian parallels to some of the traditional ten commandments.*

The Babylonian parallels are ancient and concern

commandments numbered five to eight. The Egyptian Book of the Dead has correspondences to commandments three and six to nine.

4. *The traditional decalogues in their present form are certainly of a later period than that of the exodus from Egypt.*

There is somewhat general agreement that the original commandments were terse statements. Such long and complex descriptions as now occur in the second, third, fourth, fifth, and tenth commandments resemble apologies, attempts to justify the demands of Yahweh, and do not present the moral law as inexorable.

Consider merely the Moffatt text of Exodus 20. The first commandment contains 7 words; the sixth, 4; the seventh, 5; the eighth, 4; the ninth, 9; but the second, 79; the third, 24; the fourth, 99; the fifth, 24; the tenth, 33. Five commandments contain 29 words; the other five contain 259 words!

Moreover, the theological points of view originating in the seventh and later centuries are observable in the decalogue.

5. *The time of the origin of the traditional decalogue is a very debatable question.*

Commands like "thou shalt not kill" a fellow countryman, "thou shalt not steal" from a feilow countryman, "thou shalt not bear false witness" against a fellow countryman antedate the era of Moses. Command-

ments like those referring to the carving of an image and to coveting are understandable only against the background of a later time.

6. *No commandment in the traditional decalogue has preserved its original significance.*

At first addressed to adult male Hebrews, the ten commandments were later applied to women and minors as well. The mono-Yahwism of the first commandment was transformed into monotheism. Only late in their history did the Hebrews conquer idolatry, while Christianity compromised with it and for centuries suppressed the second commandment. The criticism of the man who used the magic name "Yahweh" while omitting the required sacrifice became proscription of the incommunicable name and the right use of the divine name in solemn affirmations. A monthly feast day became a seventh-day sabbath. Much later the first day was identified with the seventh day, and the strange and contradictory "Christian Sabbath" arose. The absolutism of the Hebrew father through the weathering of over two millennia became the recognition of the rights of the modern child. Ancient solidarity was turned into justice, then into an emphasis upon the infinite value of human personality, and finally into the corresponding significance of the group and the individual. Woman, the property of her husband, whose property rights the seventh commandment originally

protected, very slowly arose to equality with her mate. Community of property and stewardship have wrestled with private property and complete ownership throughout Hebrew and Christian history. External and literal truthfulness has made progress toward genuineness and an emphasis upon inward disposition. The prohibition of appropriation of property in the absence of its owner advanced to condemnation of evil desire and approval of the *status quo*. It would be difficult to match this romance of the ten commandments.

7. *Revisions in the interpretation of the ten commandments occurring in our day are justified by precedent.*

Since the understanding and the application of the ten commandments have varied from the beginning, current revisions do not constitute any departure from the rules of either Judaism or Christianity. What some present orthodox expositions of the ten commandments betray is a woeful lack of historical information.

8. *Neither of the traditional decalogues contains the title or heading of "ten commandments" in the Old Testament.*

"Ten commandments" occurs only in Exodus 34, in immediate connection with a decalogue which is not the orthodox decalogue at all, but an "agricultural ten-finger memorial." In Deuteronomy 10 the expression

"ten commandments" may be found, but here it has only reminiscent significance.

9. *There is considerable variation in the order of the ten commandments.*

The Hebrew of Deuteronomy 5 and Exodus 20 has the ten commandments in the same order. But the Nash Papyrus, Philo, the New Testament, the Vatican manuscript of the Greek translation of the Old Testament, and so forth, offer variations. The seventh commandment may precede the sixth, and the sixth may follow the eighth.

10. *The Hebrew enumeration of the ten commandments differs from that of the Greek Church, the reformed churches, and the Anglican Church on the one hand, and from the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran Church on the other.*

Judaism counts the preface to the ten commandments as the first commandment and combines the first and second into the second commandment. The Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran Church regard the first and second commandments as the first commandment. Hence, the ordinary third commandment is the second commandment in each of these churches. The discrepancy in enumeration continues throughout the list. Thereupon these two churches divide the tenth commandment into two commandments and so recover ten commandments.

11. *Jesus reinterpreted the ten commandments.*

To the first commandment, Jesus opposed, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and chief command." He regarded God as spirit, whom his worshipers must worship in spirit and reality. He taught that men should not swear any oath but be satisfied with simply "yes" or "no." The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath. Obedience to parents must not be avoided through appeal to religion. Little children count. Anger with one's brother deserves the sentence of God. One who looks with lust at a woman has committed adultery with her in his heart. Riches must not control the views of man. If one is evil, he cannot speak good. The mouth utters what the heart is full of. "By your words you will be acquitted, and by your words you will be condemned!" He internationalized the meaning of "neighbor." He gave a new command to his followers—"love one another." Above all he made disposition and purity of heart fundamental.

12. *Christianity has regarded the ten commandments as of permanent obligation.*

Conservative Christianity and radical Christianity have highly honored the decalogue. Ptolemaeus, a pupil of the Gnostic Valentinus, divided the Old Testament into three parts. The first part was from God; the

second part was from Moses; the third part was from the elders. The decalogue was placed in the first part. It was "the law of God, pure and untainted with anything base." Both the ancient and the medieval church considered the ten commandments to be a law of nature, although an exception was made in the case of the sabbath enactment. Catechumens learned the decalogue. Allegorical interpretation magically removed all difficulties. The decalogue acquired special significance in the confessional. During the epoch of the Reformation the question of the abrogation of the ten commandments by Jesus and the question of the possibility of their fulfillment were on the agenda. Roman Catholicism answered the latter question thus: "With the assistance of God's grace we are able to keep all the commandments." The Westminster Shorter Catechism was of another opinion: "No mere man, since the fall, is able, in this life, perfectly to keep the commandments of God; but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed."

13. *Christianity has never been unanimous in its interpretation of the ten commandments.*

The most serious differences of opinion within Christianity have involved the second, fourth, seventh, eighth, and tenth commandments. There has been endless controversy over images and image-worship. For centuries no one thought of identifying the seventh-

day sabbath and the Lord's day. At the present time several divergent interpretations of the sabbath-Sunday problem prevail. The seventh commandment in its relation to divorce is conspicuous by general disregard and universal chaos. Here all kinds of Christianity must do some constructive thinking. The old rules are not applicable to the modern situation. That Christianity has not succeeded in solving the problem of property and wealth is only too apparent.

14. *The aid Puritanism rendered capitalism in its modern aspects was in part due to the eighth and tenth commandments.*

Puritanism appealed to the Old Testament for its attitude toward property and existing inequalities of life and station. In these two commandments it found a summons to work the world for God and also to work men for profit.

15. *The tenth commandment has been the bulwark of the status quo.*

Successive generations of Christians by appeal to this word of the Lord were trained to support the existing order of things, to recognize ranks, classes, and current forms of government as of God. It would be difficult to estimate how much less radicalism and revolution have appeared since the sixteenth century because of the tenth commandment. One quotation from the writings of John Calvin must suffice to demonstrate our

point. "Whatever be their [magistrates'] character, they have their government only from him. . . . Those who rule in an unjust and tyrannical manner are raised up by him to punish the iniquity of the people; they all equally possess that sacred majesty with which he has *invested* legitimate authority. . . . *If we have this constantly present to our eyes and impressed upon our hearts, that the most iniquitous kings are placed on their thrones by the same decree by which the authority of all kings is established,* these seditious thoughts will never enter our minds, namely, that a king is to be treated according to his merits, and that it is not reasonable for us to be subject to a king who does not on his part perform towards us those duties which his office requires."

16. *There has been a long quarrel within Christianity as to whether it is a new law.*

The great majority of Christians have approached and do approach both the Old Testament and the New Testament as a series of statutes to be obeyed. But Jesus emphasized self-direction, free personality, and the autonomous self. For him religion was not a system. His gospel was not a matter of rules and regulations. Instead of looking for his programs, his followers would do better to attempt to realize his ideal.

17. *From the beginning of its history, orthodox Christianity has made the decalogue the center of grav-*

ity for Christian ethics, but some of the emphases of Jesus succeeded in becoming incorporated in the expanding interpretation of the ten commandments.

While the Christian creeds, confessions of faith, and catechisms constantly place the Old Testament decalogue at the center of the Christian ethic, they also proceed to recast and revise the original and inherited significance of the ten words. By means of this reinterpretation of the decalogue, needful ethical meanings were read into very inadequate moral maxims. Expansion of significance was an easier and far less dangerous method than formulation of new decalogues would have been. But original meaning was sacrificed many a time on behalf of current need. And Moses must have smiled and even grinned at some of the exegetical maneuvers of Christian expositors.

18. *Hence the New Testament summary of the ten commandments often precedes the explanation of the Old Testament decalogue.*

Thus Question 42 of the Westminster Shorter Catechism reads: "What is the sum of the ten commandments?" and answers: "To love the Lord our God with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our strength, and with all our mind; and our neighbor as ourselves." But it offers no exposition of this summary. Deharbe's "Large Catechism," representing the Roman Catholic point of view, contains a long and interesting

explanation of the meaning of self-love and love of our neighbor. Self-love is characterized as inordinate when "we prefer our own honor and will to the honor and will of God; are more solicitous for our bodies and for temporal things than for our souls and eternal things; and seek our own welfare to the injury of our neighbor." Every one without exception is declared to be our neighbor. We love our neighbor as ourselves when we observe these exhortations of the scriptures: "See thou never do to another what thou wouldst hate to have done to thee by another," and "All things, therefore, whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them."

19. *The statement of social ideals adopted by the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States in 1925 is the best brief exposition recently published of the two commandments of Jesus.*

This statement translates the ideal of Jesus into education, into industry and economic relationships, into agriculture, into racial and international relations, and closes thus: "We believe it is the duty of every church to investigate local moral and economic conditions as well as to know world needs. We believe that it is only as our churches themselves follow the example and spirit of Jesus in the fullest sense—translating these social ideals into the daily life of the church and the

community—that we can ever hope to build the Kingdom of God on earth.

"These affirmations we make as Christians and loyal citizens of our beloved country. We present them as an expression of our faith and patriotism. We urge upon all our citizens the support of our cherished institutions, faithfulness at the ballot, respect for law, and loyal support of its administrators. We believe that our country can and will make a great contribution to the realization of Christian ideals throughout the world."

20. *The following decalogue should prove helpful in focusing attention on the basic requirements for successful living in the modern world.*

I. Thou shalt understand the factors of progress to be "a changing environment, a modifiable self, a reproductive process, and a conflict of forces resulting in selection of stable organizations and disintegration of unstable ones."

II. Thou shalt understand the fundamental wills operating in human life to be the will to live, the will to power, and the will to love.

III. Thou shalt recognize all disintegrating and destroying forces of life as sin.

IV. Thou shalt have faith in love and the interdependence of life as the constructive forces in the history of humanity.

v. Thou shalt have faith in a friendly God and universe.

vi. Thou shalt cultivate respect for thyself.

vii. Thou shalt serve the common good.

viii. Thou shalt save the child from unjust exploitation.

ix. Thou shalt work toward the elimination of racial discrimination.

x. Thou shalt help maintain the social, industrial, national, and international peace of the world.